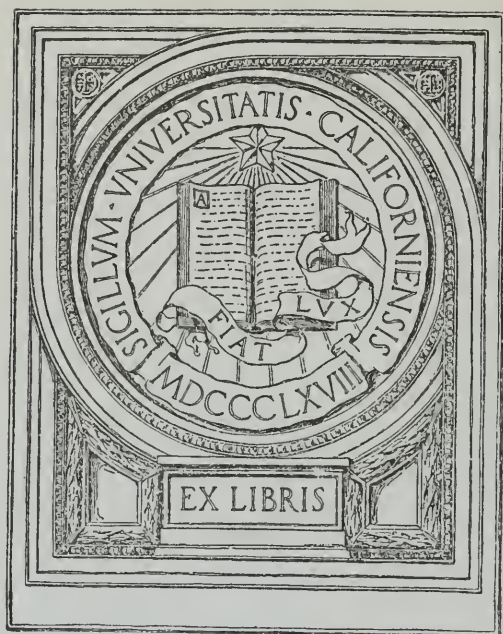


JAMES CLYMAN
AMERICAN FRONTIERSMAN
1792-1881



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James Clyman

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AMERICAN FRONTIERSMAN
1792-1881

THE ADVENTURES OF A TRAPPER AND COVERED WAGON
EMIGRANT AS TOLD IN HIS OWN REMINISCENCES
AND DIARIES

EDITED BY
CHARLES L. CAMP

SAN FRANCISCO
CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Foreword - - - - -	9
Early Days - - - - -	11
Colonel James Clyman's Narrative of 1823-24 - - - - -	13
<i>The Arikara fight—Escape from the Indians—Grizzly Bear attacks Jedediah Smith—The Crows—Over the South Pass—Sublette's narrow escape from freezing—Green River—Indians steal the horses—Clyman separated from the company—Sets out for the Missouri—"Bearly saved my scalp but lost my hair."</i>	
Discovery of South Pass - - - - -	38
Edward Rose - - - - -	39
<i>Sketch of his wild career.</i>	
Adventures in the Rockies, 1824-27 - - - - -	43
<i>Back with Ashley—Fight with the Arapaho—Clyman circumnavigates Great Salt Lake in a skin boat—An escape from the Blackfeet.</i>	
The Black Hawk War - - - - -	46
Pioneering in Wisconsin - - - - -	48
<i>Clyman and Ross build a sawmill—Takes up land in Milwaukee—Escapes from the Indians on Rock River—Ellsworth Burnett murdered—Storekeeping and surveying in Illinois—Personal appearance.</i>	
The Emigrants of 1844 - - - - -	51
Black Harris - - - - -	53
<i>His adventures as a trapper—Acts as emigrant guide—Pathfinding in the Cascade Mountains—Informs the Mormons of Salt Lake—Death.</i>	
Clyman's Diary, 1844-1845—	
Book One - - - - -	59
Book Two - - - - -	74
Book Three - - - - -	89
Book Four - - - - -	105
<i>The Oregon Trail, Independence to Little Blue River—Little Blue to mouth of the Sweetwater—Red Buttes to the Blue Mountains—Valley of the Willamette—Sketch of the Oregon Trail—Description of Oregon—Report written for Elijah White—The Hedding murder documents—Poesy.</i>	

Clyman's Diary, 1845—

Book Five	- - - - -	153
Book Six	- - - - -	168
Book Seven	- - - - -	185

The Oregon-California Trail—Directions by Joel Walker—Rogue River—"The female was taken and her horse taken from her"—Klamath River—Mount Shasta—Sacramento Valley—Sears' duel with an Indian—Knight and Wolfskill—"Suitors" Fort—List of the immigrants—Napa Valley—Yount, Bale, Ben Kelsey and Mrs. Kelsey—Gordon's Ranch—Fort Sutter to Monterey—Larkin, Townsend, and Isaac Graham—Monterey to Napa—California and the Californians—Hunting Grizzly Bears—Condors—San Francisco in 1845—Description of California—"Remarks on Bear hunting"—News of Frémont.

Clyman's Diary, 1846—

Book Eight	- - - - -	197
Book Nine	- - - - -	221

Frémont and Castro—Clyman's message to Frémont—Salvador Vallejo's Ranch—Gordon's and Johnson's Ranch—Eastward across the Sierra—"Lucky" scalded to death in the boiling spring—Ogden's Lake—Frémont's trail—Hastings' Cut-off—Great Salt Lake—Over the Wasatch—Down the Platte—Meeting the emigrants, Boggs, Morin, James F. Reed—Mormons on the trail—Caleb Greenwood—Missouri.

Overland to California in 1848 - - - - - 236

The Mecombs'—The immigrant parties—Returning Mormons bring news of the gold discovery—Letter from the placers—A frontier wedding.

Latter Days - - - - - 241

The Sonoma ranch—Loss of the children—The Napa ranch—Diary written in eightieth year—Death.

James Clyman's Poetry - - - - - 244

Index - - - - - 248

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Portrait of James Clyman	Opp. Title
Facsimile of page of Clyman's Diary of 1845	176
Portrait of Hannah Clyman	Opp. 240

MAPS

Route of the South Pass Expedition	Opp. 38
The Oregon-California Trail in 1845	Opp. 152
The Hasting's Cut-Off in 1846	Opp. 212

FOREWORD

THE Rocky Mountain trapper has taken his place in literature as a hero of adventure and romance. He is the offspring of Daniel Boone and the Fenimore Cooper Leatherstockings, and has only lately become associated with the cowboy and the wild, two-gun Westerner of fiction and melodrama. The wraiths of legend already begin to veil his dramatic exploits, and his characteristics and peculiarities in modern writings are made to fit the demands of tradition and the scenario.

So our rough, trapper chivalry is perhaps in the way of becoming as mythical as that of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table of which it may some day be made a counterpart. Sober history has, however, been busy with these western chevaliers, certainly with no conscious effort to detract from the romance of their exploits but to discover the significance of their achievements in the wide field of western expansion and the march of empire to the Pacific.

In this light the few available contemporary journals and the more reliable narratives of reminiscence take their place as prime sources. These records of Clyman's fall into this class. They are the reminiscences and daily journals of an old pioneer who has been suffered to remain in obscurity. They are epics of the frontier; a stirring commentary upon the swift conquest of the continent, reflecting the spirit of the sturdy, free-roving trappers and emigrants who blazed the trails and established themselves in the arcana of the wilderness.

The assembling of these papers has been a labor of joy. It started with a reading of Montgomery's transcript of Clyman's diaries in the Bancroft Library at the University of California.¹ A penciled memorandum in this manuscript led me to search for an account of his trapping experiences in the Rockies which, it is said, was sent to the Milwaukee Historical Society. Inquiry failed to disclose the present location of this narrative, but another notebook dealing with his first year in the mountains was found in the Draper Collection in the Wisconsin Historical Society. A copy of this was sent to me along with many other statements relating to Clyman's career.

It was another unexpected pleasure to find the complete set of Clyman's original diaries, written in nine small notebooks, together with a batch of personal papers and records of the Black Hawk War, carefully preserved by Clyman's grandson, Mr. Wilber Lamar Tallman at Napa. These documents have since been acquired by the Huntington Library and are used here with their kind permission.

¹ Richard Tremaine Montgomery, editor in former years of newspapers in Napa County, secured Clyman's records for H. H. Bancroft, who pays high tribute to them.

A number of persons who have helped bring to light important sources of information are mentioned in the notes which follow and in the article on Clyman which appeared in the *Quarterly of the California Historical Society* from 1925 to 1927. The costs of publication have been very generously supplied by Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman, a vice-president and director of this Society.

Clyman's narratives are printed here without change except for the addition of supplementary material. They include a remarkable account of the discovery of the South Pass in the spring 1824 and are perhaps the only records written from the viewpoint of an old mountain man of the emigration across the plains in the 'forties.

His style is simple and quaint, rich with the lore of the plains and mountains, full of keen, intelligent observation of men and events. It is a treat to find an occasional long-forgotten word or phrase in the parlance of the trapper or the old Virginian of Revolutionary days.

Kindliness, good humor, shrewd common sense, innate honesty and cool self-confidence characterize the man. He was never harsh in his criticism of others and seldom indulged in such criticism. He shows none of that tendency to exaggerate his own exploits which is too frequently a characteristic of personal narratives, especially those of the frontier.

His tastes were poetic and literary, in strange contrast to his rough life, his meagre schooling, and the character of many of his associates. He gives evidence of an acquaintance with his Byron, Shakespeare, and the Bible, and he wrote a curious, homely kind of poetry in his old age.

The moving force in his career was an intense love of the freedom of the wilderness. He, and probably his father before him, typified that class of borderers who were never satisfied with a patch of land if there was a chance of finding something better a thousand or three thousand miles farther on. He wandered restlessly for forty-one years over the breadth of the continent and into the farthest recesses of the mountains, carrying with him an intimate knowledge of the geography of the regions he explored. His marriage in 1849 saw the end of this nomadism and he gave up his last thirty years to unremitting toil upon his California farm.

He outlived his times completely. Scarcely one of his mountain comrades survived him. Trails that he found across the mountains were now traversed by highways and steel rails. Cities had grown up on his camp grounds, farms had invaded^a the old cattle ranges of the California valleys, and the beaver and the buffalo had gone from the land that knew them, forever.

EARLY DAYS

IN THE spring of the year 1824, before the snow had left the high plains and the foothills of the Rockies, eight trappers on horseback slowly made their way over the South Pass and down to the Green River, which they had heard the Indians call the Siskadee. Here they found plenty of beaver, also lurking bands of Shoshone warriors who stole their horses and put the adventurers afoot in a hostile land.

Jedediah Smith, a youngster then, and Thomas Fitzpatrick, whom the Indians called "Broken Hand," were the leaders of this party. They had never before crossed the mountains nor had any of their companions. They were the first of General Ashley's "mountain men," and among them was James Clyman, the author of these memoirs.

The discoveries made by these scouts led almost immediately to American control of the Rocky Mountain beaver trade and to explorations of the great unknown districts lying between the Rockies and the Sierra Nevada. Thus were trails opened for the westward rush of trapper-guided settlers who saved Oregon for America and stimulated the early conquest of California.

Scarcely an event in the exploration of our land has been fraught with such consequences as this discovery of the South Pass route; scarcely one has remained so little known. Colonel Clyman, in his reminiscences, narrates the incidents of that first journey, concluding with his own escape from the Indians and his solitary, six-hundred-mile forced march from the headwaters of the Platte to the Missouri. Plainly, we must inquire further into the life of the teller of these tales.

An adventuresome Fate must have taken charge of James Clyman from that first day of February, 1792, when he was born, on a farm in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains. This guiding Fate transported him into Ohio and the War of 1812, taught him surveying in Indiana under a son of Alexander Hamilton, took him into the Rockies with General Ashley, engaged him in the Black Hawk War in the same company with Abraham Lincoln, made him a pioneer of Illinois and Wisconsin in the 'thirties, and finally carried him thrice across the continent as an emigrant and captain of emigrants in the covered-wagon days.

The farm upon which James Clyman was born lay in the northeast corner of Fauquier County, Virginia. This land was owned by President George Washington and the elder Clyman held a life-lease upon it. Young James grew up here, obtaining a "smattering of education," which doubtless included many a glimpse of the old General as well as

frequent excursions into the surrounding forests in search of squirrels, turkeys, deer, and coons.

The frontier stirred the blood of these border settlers. When James was fifteen years old the father took the family, a wife and three sons, across the mountains into Ohio, remaining one winter in Pennsylvania. Land was rented and finally a quarter section was purchased, in Stark County, just at the time of the Battle of Tippecanoe, in November, 1811. Harrison's victory allayed Indian troubles for nearly a year, but after Hull's surrender a horde of savages was let loose upon the settlers, most of whom fled to places of safety. The few who remained, including the Clymans, organized committees of safety, and rangers were sent out to hold the Indian raiders in check until the Pennsylvania Militia could be organized. James was in the saddle almost continually, answering alarms, and getting his first taste of Indian fighting. During the continuation of the war in 1814 he hired as substitute for a neighbor and was stationed in Greenville. After service of only a month he returned, and was afterwards back in the militia for two months at Jeromesville.

Four years later, becoming restless on the farm, he went to Pittsburg only to find himself obliged to take work in the country again. He drifted westward through southern Ohio into Jennings County, Indiana, where he cleared land, planted corn with the hoe, and traded the crop to the Delaware Indians for ponies.

In the spring, probably of 1820, Clyman contracted to furnish a government land-surveyor with provisions. He got some practice, at odd moments, in carrying the chain and rapidly picked up the rudiments of practical surveying. When Morris, his employer, took sick Clyman was able to take over the work and finish the subdivision of half a township.

In the summer of 1821 he went to Terre Haute, Indiana, where after working in the harvest he engaged as bookkeeper with Treat and Blackman who were operating a small salt factory, fifty or sixty miles north of the settlements on the Vermillion River, Illinois. Colonel William S. Hamilton was in this vicinity on a surveying tour. He hired Clyman and left him in the summer of 1822 to complete the work. The next autumn Clyman did another surveying job on the Sangamon River.

In order to draw his pay, Clyman proceeded to St. Louis early in the spring of 1823, and there met General, then Lieutenant-governor, William H. Ashley, the renowned fur-trader. Ashley employed him to enlist men for the second expedition up the Missouri. Clyman "procured as many as were needed and finally took the berth of clerk of a 'cargo-box' on one of the boats at \$1 per day."

James Clyman now tells his own story of this little known first year with Ashley's men in the Rockies:²

"COL. JAMES CLYMAN'S NARRATIVE

"Nappa April 17. 1871

"According to promis I now will attempt to give you a short detail of life and incidents of my trip in & through the Rocky Mountains in the years [1823] 1824-25, 26, 27, 28 and a portion of 1829³

"Haveing been employed in Public Surveys in the state of Illinois through the winter of 1823 [1822] and the early part of 24 [23] I came to St Louis about the first of February to ricieve pay for past services and rimaining there Some days I heard a report that general William H Ashly was engaging men for a Trip to the mouth of the Yellow Stone river I made enquiry as to what was the object but found no person who seemed to possess the desired information finding whare Ashleys dwelling was I called on him the same evening Several Gentlemen being present he invited me to call again on a certain evening which I did he then gave a lenthly account of game found in that Region Deer, elk, Bear and Buffalo but to crown all immense Quantities of Beaver whose skins ware verry valuable selling from \$5 to \$8 per pound at that time in St Louis and the men he wished to engage ware to [be] huters trappers and traders for furs and peltrees my curiosity now being satisfied St Louis being a fine place for Spending money I did not leave immediately not having spent all my funds I loitered about without (without) employment

"Haveing fomed a Slight acquaintance with Mr Ashley we occasionally passed each other on the streets at length one day Meeting him he told me he had been looking for me a few days back and enquired as to my employment I informed him that I was entirely unemployed he said he wished then that I would assist him ingaging men for his Rocky mountain epedition and he wished me to call at his house in the evening which I accordingly did getting instrutions as to whare I would most probably find men willing to engage which [were to be] found in grog Shops and other sinks of degradation he

² The original manuscript, written in a small notebook, is in the Draper Collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society. Most of the circumstances of Clyman's early life, as written above, are taken from Mrs. Tallman's narrative in the Draper Collection.

³ Clyman forgets his dates. He entered the mountains in 1823 and probably left them in the fall of 1827.

The "promis" had evidently been made to Montgomery, the editor of the *Napa Reporter*, who ran the first half of this account in his paper; see note 175. In the newspaper account Clyman says, "I think I was something of a fop in those days and sometimes have a good laugh to think how I must have looked in my fringed suit of buckskin with ruffled shirt to match."

rented a house & furnished it with provisions Bread from to Bakers — pork plenty, which the men had to cook for themselves

"On the 8th [10th] of March 1824 [1823] all things ready we shoved off from the shore fired a swivel which was answered by a Shout from the shore which we returned with a will and porceed up stream under sail

"A discription of our crew I cannt give but Fallstafs Battallion was genteel in comparison I think we had about (70) seventy all told Two Keel Boats with crews of French some St Louis gumboes as they were called

"We proceeded slowly up the Misourie River under sail wen winds ware favourable and towline when not Towing or what was then calld cordell is a slow and tedious method of assending swift waters It is done by the men walking on the shore and hawling the Boat by a long cord Nothing of importance came under wiew for some months except loosing men who left us from time to time & engaging a few new men of a much better appearance than those we lost The Missourie is a monotonous crooked stream with large cottonwood forest trees on one side and small young groth on the other with a bare Sand Barr intervening I will state one circumstanc only which will show something of the character of Missourie Boats men

"The winds are occasionally very strong and when head winds prevail we ware forced to lay by this circumstanc happen^d. once before we left the Settlements the men went out gunning and that night came in with plenty of game Eggs Fowls Turkeys and what not Haveing a fire on shore they dressed cooked and eat untill midnight being care full to burn all the fragments the wind still Blowing in the morning several Neighbours came in hunting for poultry liberty was given to search the boats but they found nothing and left the wind abateing somewhat the cord was got out amd pulling around a bend the wind became a farir sailing breeze and [the sails] wa[r]e ordred unfurled when out droped pigs and poultry in abundance

"A man was ordred to Jump in the skiff and pick up the pigs and poultry

"Ariveing at Council Bluffs we m[a]de several exchanges (8) eight or Ten of our men enlisting and 2 or 3 of the Soldier whose [terms of enlistment] was nearly expired engageing with us The officers being verry liberal furnished us with a Quantity of vegetables here we leave the last appearance of civilization and [enter] fully Indian country game becomeing more plenty we furnished ourselvs with meat daily

"But I pass on to the arickaree villages whare we met with our defeat on ariveing in sight of the villages the barr in front was lined with squaws packing up water thinking to have to stand a siege

"For a better understanding it is necessary that I state that the Missouri fur company have established a small trading house [perhaps one of the Teton River posts] some (60) or (80) miles below the arrickree villages the winter previous to our ascent and the arrickarees having taken some Sioux squaws prisoners previously one of these Squaws got away from them and made for this trading post and they pursuing come near overtaking her in sight of the post the men in the house ran out and fired on the Pesueing arrickarees killing (2) others so that Rees considered war was fully declared between them and the whites But genl. Asley thought he could make them understand that his [company] was not responsible for Injuries done by the Missouri fur company But the Rees could not make the distinction they however agreed to receive pay for their loss but the general would make them a present but would not pay the Missouri fur companies damages

"After one days talk they agreed to open trade on the sand bar in front of the village but the only article of Trade they wanted was ammunition For fear of a difficulty, the boats were kept at anchor in the stream, and the skiffs were used for communications Between the boats and the shore. we obtained twenty horses in three days trading, but in doing this we gave them a fine supply of Powder and ball which on [the] fourth day we found out to [our] Sorrow

"In the night of the third day Several of our men without permission went and remained in the village amongst them our Interpreter Mr [Edward] Rose about midnight he came running into camp & informed us that one of our men [Aaron Stephens] was killed in the village and war was declared in earnest We had no Military organization discipline or Subordination Several advised to cross over the river at once but thought best to wait until day light But Gnl. Ashley our employer Thought best to wait till morning and go into the village and demand the body of our comrade and his Murderer Ashley being the most interested his advice prevailed We laid on our arms expecting an attack as there was a continual Hubbub in the village

"At length morning appeared every thing still undecided finally one shot was fired into our camp the distance being however too great for certain aim Shortly firing became quite general we seeing nothing to fire at Here let me give a short description of an Indian City or village as it is usually called Picture to your self (50) or (100) large potatoe holes as they are usually called in the west (10) to (15) feet in diameter and 8 to 10 feet high in the center covered on the outside with small willow brush then a (a) layer of coarse grass a coat of earth over all a hole in one side for a door and another in the top to let out the

smoke a small fire in the center *all Told* The continual wars between them and Sioux had caused them to picket in their place You will easily perceive that we had little else to do than to Stand on a bear sand barr and be shot at, at long range Their being seven or Eight hundred guns in village and we having the day previously furnished them with abundance of Powder and Ball [There were] many calls for the boats to come ashore and take us on board but no prayers or threats had the [slightest effect] the Boats men being completely Parylized Several men being wounded a skiff was brought ashore all rushed for the Skiff and came near sinking it but it went the boat full of men and water the shot still coming thicker and the aim better we making a brest work of our horses (most) they nerly all being killed the skiffs having taken sevarl loads on Board the boats at length the shot coming thicker and faster one of the skiffs (was turned) was let go the men clambering on Boad let the skiff float off in their great eaganess to conceal themselves from the rapid fire of the enemy I seeing no hopes of Skiffs or boats comeing ashore left my hiding place behind a dead hors, ran up stream a short distance to get the advantage of the current and concieving myself to be a tolerable strong swimmer stuck the muzzle of my rifle in [my] belt the lock ove my head with all my clothes on but not having made sufficien calculation for the strong current was carried passed the boat within a few feet of the same one Mr Thomas Eddie [saw me] but the shot coming thick he did not venture from behin the cargo Box and so could not reach me with a setting pole which [he] held in his hands K[n]owing now or at [least] thinking that I had the river to swim my first aim was to rid myself of all my encumbrances and my Rifle was the greatest in my attempt to draw it over my head it sliped down the lock ketching in my belt coming to the surface to breathe I found it hindred worse than it did at first making one more effort I turned the lock side ways and it sliped through which gave me some relief but still finding myself to much encumbred I next unbucled my belt and let go my Pistols still continueing to disengage my self I next let go my Ball Pouch and finally one Sleeve of my Hunting shirt which was buckskin and held an immence weight of water when rising to the surface I heard the voice of encoragemnt saying hold on Clyman I will soon relieve you This [from] Reed Gibson who had swam in and caught the skiff the men had let go afloat and was but a few rods from me I was so much exhausted that he had to haul me into the skiff wh[ere] I lay for a moment to cacth breath when I arose to take the only remaing ore when Gibson caled oh, god I am shot and fell forward in the skiff I

encouraged him and [said] Perhaps not fatally give a few pulls more and we will be out of reach he raised and gave several more strokes with the oar using it as a paddle when [he] co[m]plained of feeling faint when he fell forward again and I took his place in the stern and shoved it across to the East shore where we landed I hauled the skiff up on the shore and told Gibson to remain in the Skiff and I would go upon the high land where I could see if any danger beset us there. After getting up on the river bank and looking around I discovered several Indian in the water swimming over [some] of whom were nearly across the stream I spoke to Gibson telling him of the circumstance

he nearly said (said) save yourself Clyman and pay no attention to me as I am a dead man and they can get nothing of me but my Scalp My first Idea was to get in the skiff and meet them in the water and brain them with the oar But on second look I concluded there were too many of them and they were too near the shore then I looked for some place to hide But there being only a scant row of brush along the shore I concluded to take to the open Prairie and run for life by this time Gibson had scrambled up the bank and stood by my side and said run Clyman but if you escape write to my friends in Virginia and tell them what has become of me I [ran] for the open Prairie and Gibson for the brush to hide at first I started a little distance down the river but fearing that I might be headed in some bend I steered directly for the open Prairie and looking Back I saw three Indians mount the bank being entirely divested of garments excepting a belt around the waist containing a Knife and Tomahawk and Bows and arrows in their [hands] they made but little halt and started after me one to the right the other to the left while the third took direct after me I took direct for the rising ground I think about three miles off there being no chance for dodging the ground being smooth and level but having the start of some 20 or 30 rods we had apparently an even race for about one hour when I began to have the palpitation of the heart and I found my man was gaining on me I had now arrived at a moderately rolling ground and for the first time turned a hill out of sight I turned to the right and found a hole was [h]ed in the earth some 3 feet long $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and Perhaps 2 feet deep with weeds and grass perhaps one foot high surrounding it into this hole I dropped and pursuer immediately hove in sight and passed me about fifty yards distant both my right and left hand pursuers having fallen considerably in the rear and particularly the one on my right here fortune favoured me for my direct pursuer soon passed over some uneven ground got out of sight when I arose and taking to the right struck into a low ground which covered me and following it soon

came into a moderately steep ravine in all this time I gained breath and I did not see my persuers until I gained the top of the ridge over a Quarter of a mile from my friend when I gained this elevation I turned around [and saw] the three standing near together I made them a low bow with both my hand and thanked god for my present Safety and diliveranc

"But I did not remain long here wishing to put the gratest possible distance between me and the Arrickarees I still continued Southward over a smoothe roling ground But what ware my reflection being at least Three Hundred miles from any assistanc unarmed and u[n]provided with any sort of means of precureing a subsistance not even a pocket Knife I began to feel after passing So many dangers that my pro[s]pects ware still verry slim, mounting some high land I saw ahed of me the river and Quite a grove of timber and being verry thirsty I made for the water intending to take a good rest in the timber I took one drink of water and setting down on a drift log a few minuits I chanced to look [at] the [river] and here came the boats floating down the stream the [men] watcing along the shores saw me about as soon as I saw them the boat was laid in and I got aboard

"I spoke of my friend Gibson whe[n] I was informed he was on board I immediately wen[t] to the cabin whare he lay but he did not recognize me being in the agonies of Death the shot having passed through his bowels I could not refrain from weeping over him who lost his lifee but saved mine he did not live but an hour or so and we buried him that evening the onley one of (12) [13] that ware killed at the arrickarees Eleven being left on the sand bar and their Scalps taken for the squaws to sing and dance over

"Before meeting with this defeat I think few men had Stronger Ideas of their bravery and disregard of fear than I had but standing on a bear and open sand barr to be shot at from bihind a picketed Indian village was more than I had contacted for and some what cooled my courage before leaving the grave of my friend Gibson that [day and] before I had an oppertunity of writeing to his friends I forgot his post office and so never have writen⁴ We fell down a few miles and lay by several day to wait and [see] if any more men had escaped

⁴ For documents concerning the Arikara fight and subsequent events see Doane Robinson, *Official Correspondence of the Leavenworth Expedition into South Dakota*, S. D. Hist. Coll., vol. I, 1902, pp. 181-256. Robinson quotes a quaint letter of Hugh Glass written concerning John S. Gardner who like Gibson and Clyman was a Virginian. Jedediah Smith's "powerful prayer" over Gardner's body is said to have been "the first worship ever held in South Dakota." This would indicate that there was another besides Gibson who was buried. Two published casualty lists agree with Clyman's statement that eleven were killed on the sand-bar, all probably in a few minutes of fighting.

the but[c]hery when on the third or fourth day Jack Larisson came to us naked as when he was born and the skin peeling off of him from the effects of the sun he was wounded a ball passing through the fleshy part of one thigh and ldging in the other the ball was easily exticated and in a few (a few) days he was hobbling around Larrisson had lain between two dead horses untill the boats left and he saw no other chance of escape but to swim the river then divesting himself of all his clothing he took the water the Indians came running and firing at his head but [he] escaped without further injury the wound Before mentioned he had recieved in the early part of the battle if it can be called Battle supposing no more men had survived the slaughte[r] we again dropped down the river

"And landed under the side of an Isle [Ashley Island] and two men [Jedediah Smith and a French Canadian] were sent up to [Ashley's post at] the mouth of the yellowstone and one boat containing the wounded and discouraged was sent down to Council bluffs with orders to continue to St Louis This being the fore part of June here we lay for Six weeks or two months living on Scant and frquentle no rations allthough game was plenty on the main Shore perhaps it was my fault in greate measure for several of us being allowed to go on Shore we ware luckey enough to get Several Elk each one packing meat to his utmost capacity there came on a brisk shower of rain Just before we reached the main shore and a brisk wind arising the men on the (men on the) boat would not bring the skiff and take us on board the bank being bear and no timber neare we ware suffering with wet and cold I went off to the nearest timber made a fire dried and warmed myself laid down and went to sleep in the morning looking around I saw a fine Buck in easy gun shot and I succeeded in Killing him then I was in town plenty of wood plenty of water and plenty of nice fat venison nothing to do but cook and eat here I remained untill next morning then taking a good back load to the landing whare I met several men who had Just landed for the purpose of hunting for me after this I was scarcely ever allowed to go ashore for I might never return

"In proceess of time news came that Col. Livenworth with Seven or eight hundred Sioux Indians ware on the rout to Punnish the Arrickarees and (18) or (20) men came down from [Ashley's post on] the Yellow Stone who had gone up [under Andrew Henry] the year prevous these men came in Canoes (came in canoes) and passed the Arrickarees in the night we ware now landed on the main Shore and allowed more liberty than hertofore (at) Col. Levenworth [with] about (150) mem the remnant of the (6) Regiment came and Shortly after

Major Pilcher with the Sioux Indians (Indians) amounting to 5 or 600 warriors and (18) or 20 engagies of the Missouri furr Company and a grand feast was held and speeches made by whites and Indians

"After 2 days talk a feast and an Indian dance we proceded up stream Some time toward the last [the eighth] of August we came near the arrickaree villages again a halt was made arms examined amunition distributed and badges given to our friends the Sioux which consisted of a strip of white muslin bound around the head to distinguish friends from foes

"The third day in the afternoon being 2 or three miles from the villages the Sioux made a breake being generally mounted they out went us although we ware put to the double Quick and when we arived the plain was covered with Indians which looked more like a swarm [of] bees than a battle field they going in all possible directions the Rees having mounted and met the Sioux a half mile from their pickets But as soon as we came in sight the Rees retreated into their village the boats came up and landed a short half mile below the village but little efort was mad that afternoon except to surround the Rees and keep them from leaveing the Sioux coming around one side and the whites around the other Quite a number of dead Indians streued over the plain I must here notice the Bravery of one Sioux a Ree ventured out some distance from the pickets and held some tantalizeing conversation with the Sioux, one Siox on a fast horse approached him slowly Still bantering each other to approach nearer at length the Sioux put whip to his horse taking directly for the Ree and run him right up to the [village] then firing at full speed wheeled to retreat the Rees inside of the pickets firing some 40 or 50 of them covered him completely in smoke but Sioux and his horse came out safe and the Rees horse went in through the gate without a rider the Rees friends came out and carried in the man Several Rees lay dead and one in long shot (shot) of the pickets the old Sioux chief Brought one of his wives up with a war club who struck the corps a number of blow with [the] club he tantalizeing the Rees all the time for their cowardice in [not] comeing out to defend thair dead comrad and allowing his Squaws to strike their braves in gunshot of their village a common habit of the Indians in war is the first man that comes to the body of a dead enemy is to take his Scalp the second will take off his right hand the third his left the fourth his right foot the fifth his Left foot and hang thes trophies around their necks to shew how near they ware to the death of their enemy on the field of Battle and in this case a member of our Sioux shewed Trophies one more circumstance and I am done one large middle aged Sioux blonged to the grizzle Bear

medicine came on hand [and] feet to the body of a dead Ree in the attitude of a grizzly Bear snorting and mimican the bear in all his most vicious attitudes and with his teeth tore out mouth fulls of flesh from the breast of the dead body of the Ree

"But I will not tire you with details of the savage habits of Indians to their enimes but I will merely state that it is easy to make a savage of a civilised man but impossible to make a civilised man of a savage in one Generation

"The third day in the afternoon one of the Ree chiefs came out alone offering terms of peace a Schedule was drawn up to be confirmed on the morrow in a half hour after this was understood our Sioux packed up and ware out of sight also the most of the Missourie companies men

"The night was Quiet but the two previous we had a lively picture of pandimonium the wa[il]ing of squaws and children the Screams and yelling of men the fireing of guns the awful howling of dogs the neighing and braying of hosses and mules with the hooting of owls of which thy [were] a number all intermingled with the stench of dead men and horses made the place the most (most) disagreeable that immaginnation could fix Short of the bottomless pit In the morning however our Quiet night was easily accounted for the Rees having dserted thair village early in the night previous a few men with an Interpreter ware sent forward to hunt them up and bring them back

they returned about noon not being able to overtake them one circumstanc I must not omit to mention Captain [Bennett] Riley since General Riley who gave California her constitu[ti]on was present and in command of company of Company A. 6.th Regiment and requested pemition to lead a forlorn hope into the villag but was denied that honour he then became allmost furious and swore that he demande the prviledge stating that they had been laying at garison at Council Bluffs for 8 or 10 years doeing nothing but eating pumpkins and now a small chance for promotion ocured and it was denied him and might not occur again for the next 10 yeares (again)

"We Remained one night more in our stinking disageeable camp when we loosed cable and dropped down stream 4 men of our mountanier corps was left behind and in an hour after we left a great smoke arose and the acursd village was known to be on fire three Squaw 2 verry old and feeb[le] and one sick and unab[le] to move ware found to have been left as not worth caring for these ware removed into a lodge which was preserved Col. Levenworth had given special orders that the village be left unmolested & ordered the boats landed and role called to ascertain who if any ware missing the sargent called over

the roles rapidly and reported all present then [the inference was that] it must be Souix

"We having to hunt for our living we soon fell behind the Col. and his corps dropping down to a place called fort Keawa [Kiowa] a trading establishment blonging to Missourie [American] furr Company

"Here a small company of I think (13) men [under Andrew Henry] were furnished a few horses onley enough to pack their baggage they going back to the mouth of the yellow Stone on their way up they were actacted in the night by a small party of Rees killing two of thier men and they killing one Ree amongst this party was a Mr Hugh Glass who could not be rstrand and kept under Subordination he went off of the line of march one afternoon and met with a large grissly Bear which he shot at and wounded the bear as is usual attacted Glass he attemptd to climb a tree but the bear caught him and hauled to the ground tearing and lacerating his body in feareful rate by this time several men ware in close gun shot but could not shoot for fear of hitting Glass at length the beare appea[r]ed to be satisfied and turned to leave when 2 or 3 men fired the bear turned immediately on glass and give him a second mutilation

on turning again several more men shot him when for the third time he pounced on Glass and fell dead over his body this I have from information not being present here I leave Glass for the presen we having bought a few horses and borrowed a few more⁵

"Fort Keawa

left about the last of September [1823] and proceded westward over a dry roling highland a Elleven in number I must now mention honorable exceptions to the character of the men engaged at St Louis being now thined down to onley nine of those who lft [left] in March and first Jededdiah Smith who was our Captain Thomas Fitzpatrick William L. Sublett and Thomas Eddie⁶ all of which will figure more or less in the future in [the] evening we camped on White clay Creek [White River?] a small stream running thick with a white sediment and resembling cream in appeareance but of a sweetish pu[n]gent taste

our guide warned us from using this water too freely as [it] caused excessive costiveness which we soon found out

⁵ Cf. Yount's account of Glass, *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 24-33. Clyman's inaccurate account of the Glass episode and his statement that he was not present clears up a point that has always been misstated. Clyman shows that Jedediah Smith's party did not accompany Henry but left afterwards and, crossing the Black Hills, entered Absaraka from the east.

⁶ For an account of Eddie, see Triplett, *Conquering the Wilderness*, 1883, pp. 407-21. Triplett says he interviewed Eddie in that year. Despite this opportunity the sketch he gives appears to be scarcely more subdued than the other wild stories in his book.

"We proceeded up this stream one day [Trees] not in sight since we left the Missourie part of the next day same when our guide informed us to take what water we could as we would not reach water untill about noon the next day our means of taking water being very small we trailed on untill dark and camped on a ridge where the cactus was so thick that we could scarcely find room to spread our Blankets Starting early about 11 o'clock we arrived at our expected water But behold it was entirely dry not even dam[p] mud to be found but here we found a few Shrubby oaks to protect us from the scorching sun We rested perhaps half an hour 15 miles to the water yet and being all on foot and a pack horse to lead can we if we hold out reach it before dark we urged and hauled our stubborn horses along as fast as possible our guide getting a long way ahead and finely out of sight my pack horse being more tractable than most others I soon got ahead of my companions and we got strung out a mile in (length) [length] the country some what rolling and one steering off to the right or left in search of water we were not only long but wide and it appeared like we might never all collect together again I followed as near as possible the last appearance of our guide but deviating slightly to the right struck on a hole [of] water about an hour before sunset I fired my gun immediately and then ran into the pool arm deep my horse following me

"Coming out I fired my gun again one man and horse made their appearance the horse outran the man plunging into the water first each man as he came fired his gun and shouted as soon as he could moisten his mouth and throat sufficiently to make a noise about dark we all got collected except two who had given out and were left buried in the sand all but their heads Cap^t Smith Being the last who was able to walk and he took some water and rode about 2 miles back bringing up the exhausted men which he had buried in the sand and this two days of thirst and starvation was made to cross a large bend of the white clay River in the morning we found it yet 4 or 5 miles to the [Teton or Bad?] river where our guide [was] waiting for us I have been thus particular in describing the means and troubles of traveling in a barren and unknown region here our River is a beautiful clear stream running over a gravelly bottom with some timber along its course having [emerged] from its bed of mud and ashes for the sediment spoken of is nearer its mouth Continued up the valley of this stream [Teton or Bad River] to Sioux encampment of

Burnt wood

the Bois Brulie tribe where we remained several days trading for Horses and finely obtained 27 or 28 which gave us 2 horses to each man and two or three spare animals so far the country is dry not fit for

cultivation (Tere may) However there may be and pro[b]a[b]ly is better soil and better gr[a]ising higher up amongst the hills as it certainly grew better (was) the farther we proceeded up the stream and there was an incr[e]as of Shrubery and soil Likewise here our guide left us to return with the Horses we had borrowed of the Miourie Furr comp^y.

"We packed up and crossed the White Clay [Teton] river and proceeded north westernly over a dry roling Country for several days meting with a Buffaloe now and then which furnished us with provision for at least one meal each day our luck was to fall in with the Oglela tiribe of Sioux^s. whare [we] traded a few more horses and swaped of[f] some of our more ordina[r]y

"Country nearly the same short grass and plenty of cactus untill we crossed the [South Fork of?] Chienne River a few miles below whare it leaves the Black Hill range of Mountains here some aluvial lands look like they might bear cultivation we did not keep near enough to the hills for a rout to travel on and again fell into a tract of county whare no vegetation of any kind existed beeing worn into knobs and gullies and extremely uneven a loose grayish coloured soil verry soluble in water running thick as it could move of a pale whitish coular and remarkably adhesive there [came] on a misty rain while we were in this pile of ashes [bad-lands west of the South Fork of the Cheyenne River] and it loded down our horses feet (feet) in great lumps it looked a little remarkable that not a foot of level land could be found the narrow revines going in all manner of directions and the cobble mound[s] of a regular taper from top to bottom all of them of the percise same angle and the tops sharp the whole of this region is moveing to the Misourie River as fast as rain and thawing of Snow can carry it by enclining a little to the west in a few hours we got on to smoothe ground and soon cleared ourselves of mud at length we arived at the foot of the black Hills which rises in verry slight elevation above the common plain we entered a pleasant undulating pine Region cool and refreshing so different from the hot dusty planes we have been so long passing over and here we found hazlenuts and ripe plumbs a luxury not expected We had one [or] two day travel over undulating Pine with here and there an open glade of rich soill and fine grass but assinding the Ridges un[t]ill we arived near the summet our rout became brushy mainly Scruby pine and Juniper the last covered in purple beries comencing our desent the ravines became steep and rugged an rocky the waters flowing westward we suposed we ware on the waters of Powder river one evening late gowing d[o]wn a small stream we came into a Kenyon and pushed ouselves

down so far that (that) our horses had no room to turn while looking for a way out it became dark by unpacking and leading our animals down over Slipery rocks three of us got down to a n[i]ce open glade where we killed a Buffaloe and fared Sumpiously that night while the rest of the Company remained in the Kenyon without room to lie down we now found it would not do to follow down any stream in these moutains as we ware shure to meet with rocky inaccessible places So with great exertion we again assended to the top of a ridge and ware Quite lucky in gitting a main devide which led us a considerable distance before [we] had to desend again but this portion of the mountain furnished our horses with no food and they began to be verry poor and weak so we left 3 men and five horses behind to recruit while the rest of us proceded on there being some sighn of Beaver in the vicinity and hoping to soon find more where we Might all Stop for a time The Crow Indians being our place of destination a half Breed by the name of Rose who spoke the crow tongue was dispatched ahead to find the Crows and try to induce some of them to come to our assistance we to travel directly west as near as circumstances would permit supposing we ware on the waters of Powder River we ought to be within the bounds of the Crow country continueing five days travel since leaveing our given out horses and likewise Since Rose left us late in the afternoon while passing through a Brushy bottom a large Grssely came down the vally we being in single file men on foot leding pack horses he struck us about the center then turning ran paralel to our line Cap^t. Smith being in the advanc he ran to the open ground and as he immerged from the thicket he and the bear met face to face Grissly did not hesitate a moment but sprung on the cap^t taking him by the head first pitc[h]ing sprawling on the earth he gave him a grab by the middle fortunately cat[c]hing by the ball pouch and Butcher K[n]ife which he broke but breaking several of his ribs and cutting his head badly none of us having any sugical Knowledge what was to be done one Said come take hold and he wuld say why not you so it went around I asked the Cap^t what was best he said one or 2 [go] for water and if you have a needle and thread git it out and sew up my wounds around my head which was bleeding freely I got a pair of scissors and cut off his hair and then began my first Job of d[r]essing wounds upon examination I [found] the bear had taken nearly all his head in his capcious mouth close to his left eye on one side and clos to his right ear on the other and laid the skull bare to near the crown of the head leaving a white streak whare his teeth passed one of his ears was torn fom his head out to the outer rim after stitching all the other wounds in the best

way I was capabl and according to the captains directions the ear being the last I told him I could do nothing for his Eare O you must try to stich up some way or other said he then I put in my needle stiching it through and through and over and over laying the lacerated parts together as nice as I could with my hands water was found in about ame mille when we all moved down and encamped the captain being able to mount his horse and ride to camp whare we pitched a tent the onley one we had and made him as comfortable as circumstances would permit this gave us a lisson on the charcter of the grissly Baare which we did not forget I now a found time to ride around and explore the immediate surroundings of our camp and ascertained that we ware still on the waters of [South Fork of] shiann river which heads allmost in the eastern part of the Black hill range taking a western course for a long distance into an uneven vally whare a large portion of (of) the waters are sunk or absorbd then turning short to the east it enters the Black hill rang th[r]ough a narrow Kenyon in appeareantly the highest and most abrupt part of the mountain enclosed in immense cliffs of the most pure and Beautifull black smooth and shining [slate] and perhaps five hunded to one thousand feet high how [far] this slate extends I cannot tell We passe[d] through this slate Quarry about 2 miles and one of the men observed here or at some such place Mosses must have obtain^d the plates or tables on which the declogue was inscirobed some miles farther west I visited [a] place of a different character containing Quite a grove of Petrifid timber standing laying and inclining at various angles one stub in Perticular wa[s] so high that I could barely lay my hand on the top sitting in the saddle the body and main branches scatered on the ground dismounted and picked up several fragments which ware so hard as to bring fire f[r]om steel⁷ A Mountaneer named [Moses] Harris⁸ being St Louis some yers after undertook to describe some of the strange things seen in the mountains spoke of this petrified grove in a restaurant whare a caterer for one of the dailys was prese[n]t and the next morning his exaggerated state-

⁷ Fossil logs are found in various places in the foothills of the Black Hills.

Dr. V. T. McGillicuddy, former Indian Agent at Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota, concludes, after reading this section of the account, that the party probably crossed over the southern portion of the Black Hills and struck the headwaters of the South Fork of the Cheyenne.

It is likely that Jedediah Smith's party was the first to traverse the Black Hills of Dakota, the scene of that great gold rush in the seventies which led to serious Indian troubles and culminated in the Custer fight. The Astorians probably went to the north of Smith's route.

⁸ This old story is accredited to Harris by two other writers, P. H. Burnett and George F. Ruxton.

Harris was probably not present at this time. He is mentioned by Beckwourth as having been in Ashley's employ in the Pawnee country in October of this year. He figures later, in Clyman's diaries of 1844.

ment came out saying a petrified forest was lately di[s]covered where the trees branches leaves and all were perfect and the small birds sitting on them with their mouths open singing at the time of their transformation to stone This is a fine country for game Buffaloe Elk Bare deer antelope &c likewise it produces some Hazel nuts Plumbs white thorn Berries wild currant large and of fine flavour and abundance of nutritious grass and some land that would bear cultivation after remaining here ten days or 2 weeks the cap^t. Began to ride out a few miles and as winter was rapidly approaching we began to make easy travel west ward and Struck the trail of Shian Indians the next day we came to their village traded and swaped a few horses with them and continued our march across a Ridge [of] mountains not steep & rocky (in general) but smooth and grassy in general with numerous springs and brook of pure water and well stocked with game dsending this ridge we came to the waters of Powder River Running West and north country mountainous and some what rocky

"Rose with 15 or 16 Crow Indians came to our camp as soon as we raised a fire in the evening they had been watching for two days passed to assure themselves that no Shians were with us they and the Shians being at war they the Crows brought us several spare Horses which relieved our Broke down animals and gave us a chance to ride but they caused us to travel to fast for our poor horses and so Cap^t Smith gave them what they could pack sending Rose with them and we followed at our own gait stoping and Traping for beaver occasionally Crossing several steep and high ridges which in any other country would be called mountains Crossed Shell river Quite a stream running into the bighorn as I believe the mountains here do not appear to have any rigular direction but run in all directions are tolerable high but not generall precipitous Before l[e]aving this particular Region I think it the Best Supp[l]ied with game of any we passe[d] through in all our Travels and therefore do not wonder that the Indian would not give it up and if it is not too cold there some soil that will bear cultivation we ware there through the month of November the nights war frosty but the days ware generally warm and pleasant on Tongue river we struck the trail of the (of the) Crow Indians Passed over another ridge of mountains we came on to Wind River which is merely another name for the Big horn above [south of] the Big horn Mountain the most of this Region is barren and worthless if my recollection is right from the heads of the Shian untill we came on to Wind river we ware Bountifully supplied with game but here we found none at all two causes may be assigned for this first the country not being well supplied naturely an Second the Crows

having passed recntly through they had killed and drove off all the game in our reach our meals being few and far betwen our only hope being to push a head and overtake the Crow village The weather being cold and blustry and I thought the River was well named slight Snows and Strong north winds prevailed continually our horses and urselves became completely exausted before we reached the main Encampment Still passing up Wind river untill we came immediately north of Freemont peak [later so named] on the Wind River Mountain, whare we halted for the winter. The vally is here narrow and uneven but tolerable well set in grass and Buffalo plenty at the time of our arival several grand hunts taking place which being the first I had witnessed I will attempt to give some description the whole grown male population turning out Early in the morning and taking rank along on eeach side of a narrow vally those on fleetest horses taking a circuit and getting behind a large herd Bufflo drove them pell mell down the vally those Stationed on the sides falling in as they passed they run down the Buffaloe so that [the] old and slow could catch them and even men on foot Killed them with Bow and Arrow the Squaws old men and children following and Buchering and secureing meat and skins as fast as possible the night after this grand hunt not more than half the people came in to camp they remaining out to watch the wolves fom the meat untill they could get it packed in d[r]ying now commenced on a grand scale and wood was in demand

"In a few days we moved a short distance to whare wood was more plenty and had another gran hunt after which individuals were allowed to hunt at their pleasure all though this vally is in heart of the rocky Mountain range Snow did not fall deep and every Clear day it thawed whare the sun struck fairly In the second grand chase I did not go out on horseback as in the first but took it on foot with the foot men the day being too cold for pleasant riding we proceeded to the lower part of the vally whare the stream that passes through the vally enters a narrow Kenyon it being 6 or 7 miles from whare the race commenced and standing on a cliff nea[r]ly ove[r] the buffaloe we had rare Sport shooting them on enquiry as to how many ware slaughtered that day every one said a thousand or upwards thi[s] I did not dispute thinking it fell near the fact myself and about 20 Indians who stood on the rocks of [the] Kenyon Killed Seventy by my own count It is remarkable the amount of cold these Crows can withstand I have frequently seen them dozens of them runing bufaloe on horseback for hours together all their bodies naked down to the belt around their waists and dismount with but a slight trimble and many of them take a bath every morning even whn the hoar frost was flying thick in the air and it was necessary to cut holes in the ice to get at the water

"They put thier children to all kinds of hardships and the femals in particular pack the littl girls and dogs when on march the whole employment of the males being hunting and war and at the time we ware there at least one third of the warriors ware out in war parties in different directions they being in a state of warfare with all the neighbouring tribes in February [1824] we made an effort to cross the mountains north of the wind River [ra]nge but found the snow too deep and had to return and take a Southern course east of the wind river range which is here the main Rocky mountans and the main dividing ridge between the Atlantic and Pacific

"In traveling up the Popo Azia a tributary of Wind River we came to an oil springe neare the main Stream whose surface was completely covered over with oil resembling Brittish oil and not far from the same place ware stacks [of] Petroleum of considerable bulk.⁹ Buffaloe being scarce our supply of food was Quite scanty Mr Sublett and my self mounted our horses one morning and put in quest of game

we rode on utill near sundown when we came in sight of three male bufalo in a verry open and exposed place our horses being too poor to run we made an effort to aproach them by crawling over the ice and snow but our game saw us and was about to brake when we arose and fired luckeyly we broke ones Shoulder had we had our horses at hand so as to mount and follow we would soon [have] had meat but our horses ware narely a mile Distant so Sublett went back for our horses and I loaded my rifle and followed the wounded buffalo there being an uneven riadge about a mile distant in the direction the game went and (and) my hope was to head him there and git another shot

I ran with all my speed and fortunately when I came out of cover was in easy gun shot when all breathless mearly pointing my [gun] in the direction of the game to my surprise I gave him a dead Shot bi-fore I could reload he fell dead in a steep gutter whare I could not commence butcering untill Sublett came up to assist me night came on before we got our meat buchered we gatherd some dry sage and struck a light by which we got of[f] a small Quantity of meat Shortly after the sun left us the North wind arose and grew stronger and stronger and a cold frosty snow commenced falling before [we] finished our suppers there being no wood and sage being small and scarce and scattering what little fire we had in all directions we spread down our scanty bed and covered ourselves as close as possbele from the wind and snow which found its way through ever[y] crevice

"Although the wind blew and the fine frosty snow crept in and around us this was not the worst for the cold hard frozen earth on which

⁹ Vicinity of Lander, Wyoming, now an oil field.

we lay was still more disagreeabl so that sleep was out of the Que[s]tion by turning every method for rest day light at last apeared when we consulted what we had best do under the circumstances and it was agre[ed] that I should arise and gather some sage brush which was small and scarce and [Sublette] wold remain under the Buffaloe robe and keep his hands warm if posibl to strike fire but all our calculations failed for as soon [as] our hands became exposed to the air they became so numb that we could not hold thee flint and Steel we then [took] re[c]ourse to our guns with no better Success for the wind was So strong and for the want of some fine metireal to catch the fire in we or my comrade raped himslf in his robe and laid down after a great struggle I made out to saddle my hor[s]e and was about to leave the inhospitable [place] not wishing to leave my friend I asked him if he Could ride if I saddled his horse but he thought not and was unwilling to try I then made several unsuccesful efforts to obtain fire Just as I was about to mount and leave I run my hand in the ashes to see if any warmth remained to my Joy found a small cole of fire alive not larger than a grain of Corn throwing it in to [a] hand full of metirial I had gathered it starte[d] a blaze in a minuit and in one minuit more I had a fine fire my friend got out and crawled up to my side drawing our robe around our backs we tried to warm ourselves but the wind being so strong the smoke and fire came into our faces by the back current I sadled the other hors packed up the meat while Sublet gathered sagebrush to keep up a fire which was no little Job for [it was] carried away allmost a[s] fast as he put it on at length we mounted and left I put my friend ahead and followed urging his horse along We had about four miles to timber I found I would be liable to freeze on ho[r]seback so I got of and walked it being a north inclination the snow was about one foot deep I saw my friend was too numb to walk so I took the lead for the last half mile and struck a grove of timber whare there was an old Indian [lodge] but one side of which was still standing I got fire allmost Immediately then ran back and whoped up my friends horse assisted him to dismount and get to the fire he seemed to [have] no life to move as usual he laid down nearly assleep while I went Broiling meat on a stick after awile I roused him up and gave him his Breakfast when he (he) came to and was as active as usual

"I have been thus particular in discribing one night near the sumit of the Rockey mountai[n]s allthough a number simular may and often do occur

"We [the entire party] now moved over a low ridge and Struck on

Sweet Water Since ascertained to be a tributary of the Platte river it was cold and clear the evening that we encamped on Sweet water many of [the] South sides of the hills were bare of Snow Buffalo scarce and rations limited some time in the night the wind arose to a hericane direct from the north and we had [to] Keep awake and hold on to our blankets and robes to keep them from flying away in the morning we gathered a large pile of dry pine logs and fixed up our blankets against the wind but the back current brought all the smoke and ashes into our faces in fifteen or twenty minuets after taking down our Screen ou[r] fire blew intirely away and left us the wood but no fire we then cleared away the snow under the lea of a clump of willows fixed ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit laid to sleep the wind still blowing all day and night without abatement the next morning several of us wrapt ourselves in our robes and (and) attempted to take some exercise following down the stream it became confined in a narrow Kenyon¹⁰ under the points of some rocks we would be partly secure from the cold blast toward evening my companion Mr Branch Saw a mountain sheep on the rocks allmost perpedicular over us and fired at him had the good luck to hit him when he came tumbling down to our feet we soon prepared him and packed him to camp where efforts were made to broil small pieces but soon gave it up the wind still keeping up such a continual blast as to prevent even a starving mountaneer from satisfying his hunger we all took to our blankets again it being the only way to keep from perishing the blast being so strong and cold Late in the night however the lull came on and being awake I arose and found it Quite comfortable I struck up a fire and commenced cooking and eating by broiling thin slices of meat after a short time my comrades began to arise and we talked cooked eat the remainder of the night in the morning we started out in various directions some to look for game and some to look for more comfortable Quarters our prsent camp being close to the East foot of the wind River mountain and on a low divide directly south of the Wind rever vally having a full sweep for the North Wind [which] Caused us such [an] uncomfortab[l]e time Two pa[r]ties proceeded one in Quest of game the other for a camping ground I went down the sweet water some four or five miles to whare the Kenyon opened out into Quite a valley and found plenty of dry aspin wood in a small grove at the Lower end of the Kenyon and likewise plenty of Mountain Sheep on the cliffs which bounded the stream one of which I had the luck to kill and which I Buried in a snowdrift

¹⁰ Later known to the emigrants as the "Three Crossings."

the next morning we packed up and moved down to the Aspin grove where we remained some two or three weeks Subsisting on Mountain sheep on our way to our new camp we ware overtaken by one of the heaviest falls of snow that I ever witnessed with but verry slight wind the snow came down in one perfect sheet but fortunately it did not las[t] but a short time and we made our camp in good season as I before said we did not leave this camp untill the Mountain Sheep began to get scarce and wild and before leaving we here made a cash of Powder Lead and several other articles supposed to be not needed in our Springs hunt and it was here likewise understood that should circumstances at any time seperate us we would meet at this place and at (and) all event we would all met here again or at some navigable point on the stream below at or by the first [of] June acording to our recording¹¹ on leaving sweet water we struck in a south westerly direction this being some of the last days of February I think in 1825 [1824] our stock of dried meat being verry scant we soon run out entirely—no game to be found It appears this winter was extremely dry and cold one fourth of the g[r]ound on those ridges south of Sweetwater being entirely bare from the effect of strong west winds which carried the snow over to the East and south sides of the ridges about sixth morning out Mr Sublette and myself ware in the advance looking out for game a few antelope had been see[n] the evening previous a slight snow falling we came on the fresh track of a buffalo and supposing he could not be far off we started full speed after him in running about a mile we came in sight of him laying down the animal being thick a[nd] hevy it [was] difficult to hit a vital part when he is laying down we consulted as to the surest way [of] disabling him and came to the conclusion that I fire at the rump and if posible breake his coupling while Sublett would fire at his Shoulder and disable him in forward parts so we [a]greed Sublett counting one two three while we both drew aim and both pull trigger at the word fire when both of our rifles went of simutan[eo]u[sly] and both effected what we desired the animal strugling to rise but could not Sublett beat me in reloading and approached and shot him in the head Just as the company came in sight on a hight of land when they all raised a Shout of Delight at [the] sight many not having tasted food for four days & none of us from two to three now you may suppose we had a happy time in butchering

¹¹ Thus were arrangements made for the first "rendezvous" Ashley's mountaineers ever held.

[The account from this point is in the handwriting of Clyman's daughter, Mrs. Tallman. She copied it from the story which Clyman wrote down, day by day, upon his slate in 1879.]

"Our company coming up we butchered our meat in short order many of the men eating large slices raw we packed up our meat & traveled on untill in the afternoon in hopes of finding water but did not succeed but finding large clumps of sage brush we camped all eaving & part of the night continuing on we found we had crossed the main ridge [South Pass]¹² of the Rocky mountain in the month of January [February] 15 days without water or only such as we got from melting snow our horses eating snow and living fairly when beaver ground was found although we struck Sandy [River] about noon some of the men went immediatly to cutting the ice with thier Tomahawks called out frose to the bottom I walked down they had got down the length of thier arms and was about to give it up I pulled out one of my pistols and fired in to the hole up came the water plentiful for man & horse there being a small growth of willows along the stream we had wood & water plenty but our supply of meat had given out passed down the stream on[e] day in the eavning a buffalo was killed and we were all happy for the present this stream and one other we passd and on the 20th of February we reached Green river where I had the luck to kill two wild geese here Capt Smith with seven men left us he going farther south we left to trap on the branches of the stream as soon as the ice gave way in a few day[s] wild geese became plenty on thawy & Springy places the ice giving way we found beaver plenty and we commenced trapping We found a small family of diggers or Shoshone Indians on our trapping ground whom we feed with the overplus of Beaver the snow disapearing our diggar friends moved off without our knowledge of when or where and when they had gone our horses runing loose on[e] night they all disapeared and we were unable to find them or in what direction they had gone we continued trapping on foot with fair success for about six weeks when the 10th of June was drawing close and we had promised all who were alive to meet at our cash on Sweet Water accordingly we cashed traps & furs hung our saddle & horse equipments on trees & set out for Sweet water the same day about noon on turning the point of a ridge we meet face to face with five & six indians mounted on some of our horses preparing to take possesion of as many horses each on[e] taking hold of a lariat and ordering our friens to dismount but after a short consultation we decided to go with them to thier camp about

¹² See entry in Clyman's diary of Aug. 20, 1844, p. 90.

one mile up a steep mountain where we found six lodges 18 men with a large supply of squaws & children & our old acquaintances that we had fed with the fat of Beaver while the earth was thickly covered with snow we made our camp on rising ground in easy gunshot of thier village all our horses wer given up but one and we concluded this one was hid in the mountain so we caught one of the men tied him fast told them we intended to kill him if our horse was not given back which soon brought him we gave them a few presents and left for our old camp dug up our cashe cut down our saddles and again started for Sweet water this brought us to the 15th of June no sight of Smith or his party / remaining here a few days Fitzpatrick & myself mounted & fowling [following] down stream some 15 miles we concluded the stream was unna[vi]gable it beeing generally broad & Shallow and all our bagga[g]e would have to be packed to some navigable point below where I would be found waiting my comrades who would not be more than three or four days in the rear I moved slowly down stream three days to the mouth where it enters the North Platt Sweetwater is generally bare of all kind of timber but here near the mouth grew a small thick clump of willoes in this I cut a lodging place and geathered some driftwood for a fire which I was just preparing to strike fire I heard human voices on the stream below carfully watching I saw a number of Indians advance up along the opisite side of the stream being here about 4 rods wide they come up & all stoped on the other side there being a lot of dry wood they soon raised 4 or 5 fires turned loose or tithered all their horses thier being 22 Indians and 30 horses I did not feel myself perfectly safe with so large number a war party in my rear vacinity recollecting that for $\frac{1}{2}$ mile back the country was bare & sandy the moon a few days before the full I could be trased as easly as if it had been snow so I walked backward across the sandy reagon out to a narrow rocky ridge & following along the same to where the creek broke through it I crossed over to the east side and climbing a high point of rocks I had a fair vew of my disagreeable neighbors at about 40 rods distance some of them lay down and slept while some others kept up the fire about midnight they all arose collected up thier horses too of the horses crossed over the creek two Indians on horse back folowed after when a shout was raised & eight or ten mounted went to assist hunting the fugitives after an hours ride backward & farword they gave up & all started of north I crawled down from my perch & caught a few moments of cool feverish sleep. next day I surveyed the canyon [Devil's Gate] through which the river passes fearfully swift without any perpendicular fall while on one of the

high cliffs I discovered about 20 Ind[ians] approach the stream right where I had left a bout halfhour before all on foot they soon mad a small raft of driftwood on which they piled their war equipments & clothes swam the stream and went South I returned to my observatory on Sweetwater I remained in this vacinity eleven days heard nothing of my party began to get lonsome examened my store of amuniton found I had plenty of Powder but only eleven bullets reconitering all the curcumstances in my mind I thought if I spent a week in trying to find my old companions & should not be lucky enough to meet with them I would not have balls enough to take me to civilisation & not knowing whither I was on Platt or the Arkansas on the 12th day in the afternoon I left my look out at the mouth of Sweetwater and proceeded down stream knowing that civil[iz]ation could be reached Eastward the days were quite warm & I had to keep near the water nothing occured for several day worth mentioning at length I found a bull boat lying drifted up on a sand bar and the marks of a large Indian ranch on the main shore I knew by the boat some white men had [been] here for the Indians never made such boats this gave me a fient hope of meeting some white men in this Indian world but continuing down stream several days I saw several persons running Buffalow on the hills on the other side of the river but to far to tell who they were Great herds of Buffalo were drivin across the river right around me I shot one and dried some meat remained here two days in hopes of meeting some human beeing even a friendly Indian would be a relief to my solitude but no person appearing I moved off down stream some two or three days after [this] I came into a grove of large old cottonwoods where a number of village Martins were nesting

"I laied down in the shade and enjoyed their twittering for some hours it reminded me of home & civilisation I saw a number of wild horses on the [prairie?] and I thought I would like to ride there is what hunters call "creasing"; this is done by shooting the animal through the neck close above the main bone this stuns them for a minute or more The next buffalo I killed I made a halter, I was forced to keep near the watter for there were no springs or streams on the plain. A fine black stallion came down to drink and beeing in close gun shot I fired as soon as he had gained the main bank he fell & I ran up & haltered him but he never moved for his neck was broken so I missed my wild ride still continuing my journey at length I came to a large recent lodge trail crossing the stream I thought it would be plesent to communicate with humans even though it were Indians so I plunged into the stream and crossed over the water was only breast deep any where the villiag was about two miles out in the hills

on my approach to them I did not attract thier attention untill within a few rods of thier lodges when a lot of men & boys came running up to me yelling most hidously when one man ran up & snatched my butcher knife and waved it across my breast I thought this a bravado so bared my breast for the fated streike & this perhaps saved my life for he immediatly commensed taking such things as suited him others taking my blankets then all my balls firesteel & flint another untied my powder into a rag when one or two cam rapedly up on horseback then they all left one of the mounted me[n] talking very loud & rapidly then he ordered me to mount behing him which I was glad to do he took me to his lodge and gave me to understand that I must not roam around any for some of them were bad and would kill me I remained in his lodge all night and after the morning meal he had three horses broght he & his son each mounted one and told me to mount the other he rode forward his son in the rear we rode basck over the river & about two miles on the trail where I dismounted and went on a foot again they sitting on thier horses watched me untill I had passed over half mile when they returned, my hair had not been cut since I left St Louis I lost my hat at the defeat of the Arickrees and had been bareheaded ever since my hair was quite long my friend had beged for my hair the morning before we left his lodge I had granted his request so he barbered me with a dull butcher knife before leaving me he made me understand he loved me that he had saved my lief and wanted the hair for a memento of me as soon as my friends were fairly out of sight I left the trail fearing some unfriendly Indian the grass was thick and tall which made it hard to brake through so I frequently took ridges which led me from my course the second day in the afternoon I came to a pool of water under an oak tree drank sat down under the shade a short time ate a few grains of parched corn (which my friends had given me) when I heard a growling of some animals near by I advanced a few steps and saw two Badgers fighting I aimed at one but my gun misssd fire they started off I geathered some bones (horse brobly) ran after & killed both I struck fire with my gunlock skined & roasted them made a bundle of grass & willow bark. it rained all the later part of the night but I started early in the morning the wet grass beeing more pleasant to travel than the dry it continu[ed] showery for several days the mosquitos be uncommonly bad I could not sleep and it got so damp I could not obtain fire and I had to swim several rivers at last I struck a trail that seamed to lead in the right direction which I determined to follow to its extream end on the second day in the afternoon I got so sleepy & nervous that it was with difficulty I kept the

trail a number of times I tumbled down asleep but a quick nervous jerk would bring me to my feet again in one of these fits I started up on the trail traveled some 40 rods when I hapened to notise I was going back the way I had come turning right around I went on for some time with my head down when raising my eyes with great surprise I saw the stars & stripe waving over Fort Leavenworth [Atkinson] I swoned emmediatly how long I lay unconcious I do not know I was so overpowered with joy The stars & stripes came so unexpected that I was completly overcome being on decending ground I sat contemplating the scene I made several attempts to raise but as often fell back for the want of strength to stand after some minnites I began to breathe easier but certainly no man ever enjoyed the sight of our flag better than I did I walked on down to the fort there beeing no guard on duty I by axident came to the door of Cap Rileys quarters where a waiter brought out the Cap who conducted me to Generl Leavenworth who assigned me a company & gave me a writen introduction to the settlers where I got credit for a change of clothing some shoes & a soldiers cap I remained here receiving rashions as a soldier for ten days when to my surprise Mr Fitzpatrick Mr Stone & Mr Brench arived in a more pitible state if possible than myself. Fitzpatrick went back to the cashe after leaving me they opened the cashe found the powder somwhat damp spread it out to dry got all ready to pack up when Smith and party arived the day being quite warm the snow melted on the mountains and raised the water & they came to the conclusion to build a boat there & Fitzpatrick Stone & Branch to get the furs down the best way the could Cap Smith to take charge of all the hunting & traping and to remain in the country the season so acordingly they made a skin boat & Cap coming down on horsback to bring me back again, (but I was off surveying the canyon) he saw where the Indians had been where I had cut my lodge in the willows and not finding me came to the conclusion the Indians had killed me so made that report[?]

the three men hauld the boat down stream untill it was nearly worn out and the water still falling so they cashed the furs on Indipendence rock and ran down into the Canyon¹³ thier boat filled & they lost two of thier guns & all of thier balls they broke the Brass mounting of the gun with rocks bent it into balls with which they killed a few buffalo, the Skin boat I saw on the sand bar was made by four men [Colonel Keemle's party] who crossed over from the mouth of the Big-horn thier winter camp and landing on the shore walked up into the

¹³ Fitzpatrick undoubtedly cached what was left of his furs at Independence Rock *after* the boat was wrecked. The date could well have been the fourth of July, and that is probably the reason that the rock was so named.

valliage which proved to be Arickaree two of them escaped but the other two were killed this [tribe] afterward proved to be the same people I saw runing buffalo by axident I escaped from them the camp I waided the river to meet were Pownees and here too I bearly saved my scalp but lost my hair"

Father writes potery sometimes which [happened] to be copied here in the way

(Mourn not dear friends to anguish deriven
Thy children now unite in Heaven
Mourn not for them who early blest
Have found in Heaven eternal rest)

So ends this part of the record.

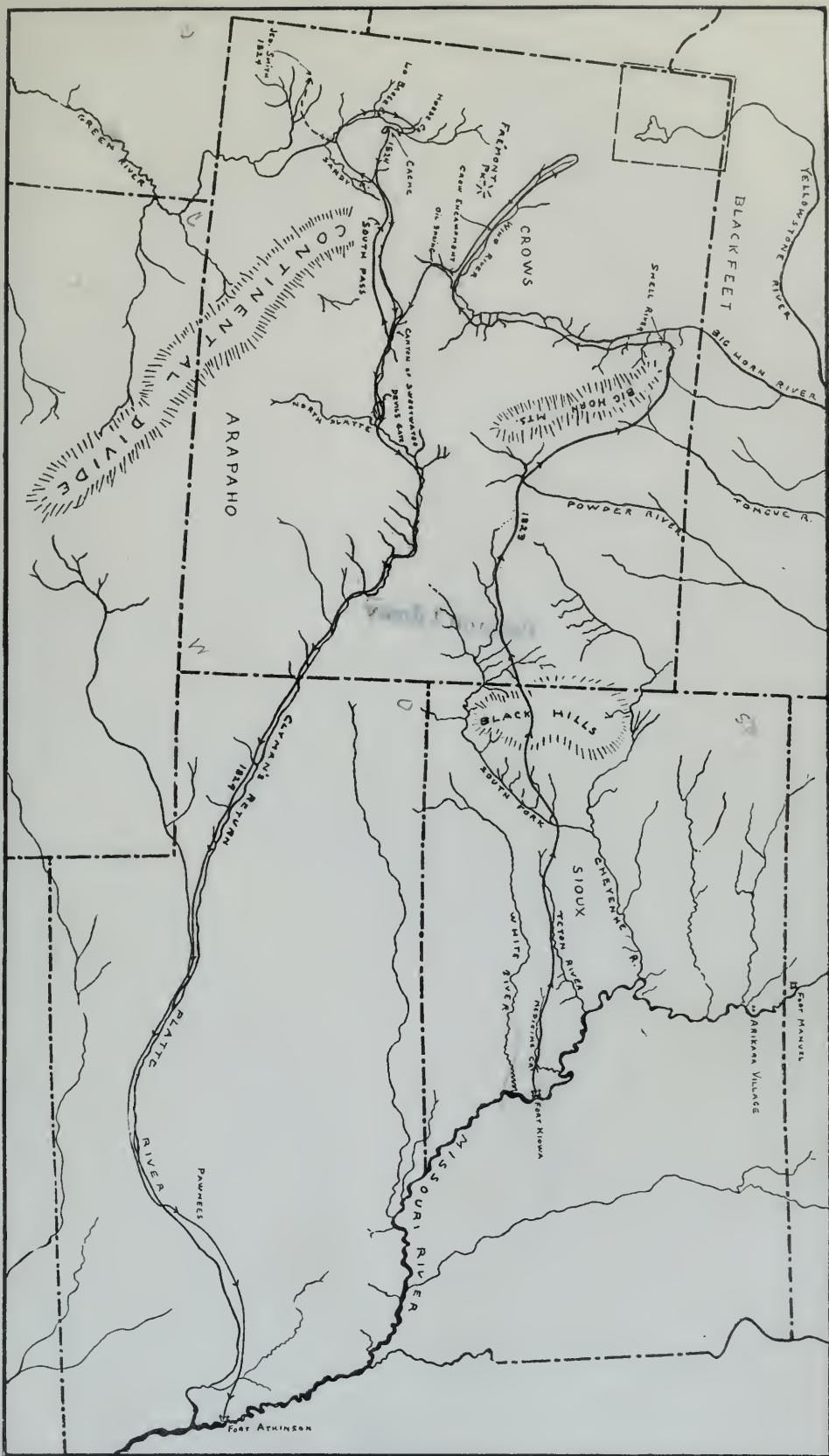
DISCOVERY OF SOUTH PASS

The story of Jedediah Smith's journey toward the mountains and over the Great South Pass has become confused in the works of Chittenden and Dale. If we note the information given by Clyman we may feel sure that Smith, Fitzpatrick, Sublette, Branch, Stone, Eddie, Rose and Clyman did not accompany Andrew Henry, Hugh Glass, Bridger, Fitzgerald and the others to Ashley's post, but struck out directly over the Black Hills toward the mountains; also that Smith, not Fitzpatrick,¹⁴ was the leader of the whole party until after they went through the pass.

Clyman has accordingly added another notch to the "coup-stick" of Jedediah Smith, who after eight short years left so remarkable a record of achievement in exploration. It cannot be said for certain that Smith and his men were the first Whites to traverse the South Pass, but the probabilities point that way,¹⁵ and, what is equally important, theirs was the first expedition to make that important highway

¹⁴ John S. Robb (Pseud. "Solitaire"), "Major Fitzpatrick, the Discoverer of the South Pass," *St. Louis Weekly Reveille*, March 1, 1847,—copy kindly furnished by Miss Stella M. Drumm. Robb states that Smith stayed behind with the Crows, also that he was "left in care of two men" after he was mauled by the grizzly. Robb also records the fact that Colonel Keemle, and the other survivors of the Immel-Jones massacre on the Yellowstone, joined Fitzpatrick shortly after Smith was attacked by the bear. Keemle evidently stayed with the party until they reached the Crow villages. Then Keemle and his men constructed bull-boats and attempted a voyage down the Platte. The boat Clyman found later was doubtless one of theirs. (Cf. Edwards and Hopewell, *Great West*, 1860, pp. 171-72 and 177.)

¹⁵ See also Dale, *Ashley-Smith Explorations*, 1918, pp. 88-96, 182-63. Alter, *Jim Bridger*, 1925, pp. 27-45, is inclined to give the credit of discovery to Provot and Bridger. It may be that Andrew Henry used the pass in 1810, but it is much more likely that he traversed a more direct route, probably the well known pass at the head of Wind River. Claims might also be introduced for John Hunter and for Rose and Charbonneau. Hunter's narrative, however, is discredited, and the accounts of Rose's expeditions are more or less legendary. The returning Astorians came very close to the South Pass if they did not actually traverse it.



MAP 1

Route of Jedediah Smith's party over the South Pass in 1823-24, and the route of James Clyman's return to Fort Atkinson.

well known. This discovery of the only practicable wagon-route over the northern Rockies, had a profound effect on the future of California and the Northwest — an effect perhaps commensurate in importance with the discovery of gold — for it was the use of this route by the emigrants that permitted the rapid settling and acquisition of Oregon, the early immigration to and subsequent conquest of California, and the settlement of Utah.

The immediate result of Fitzpatrick's letter to Ashley announcing the new-found pass was the invasion of the transmontane region by American trappers, practically for the first time since the days of the Astorians, and the dispatching of Smith overland to California in quest of new trapping grounds. Ashley's men drove the first caravan and wheeled the first cannon through the pass. The pass became the great highway for trappers and missionaries, and the rendezvous came to be held annually in its vicinity. Developing, as it did, into the "Panama Canal" of central, transcontinental traffic, it might well be called the Gateway to the West.

EDWARD ROSE

One of the earliest trappers in the Rockies was that strange, half-savage, Edward Rose. He had been associated with Manuel Lisa and the Astorians and had difficulties with them. He played a brave part in the Arikara fight and accompanied Smith and Clyman on the South Pass expedition as far as the Crow country, acting in the capacity of interpreter. He may have had something to do with directing the party toward the Pass as he was the only one among them who had been in this region before. His career is one of the strangest and least known of any of the early mountaineers.

In the drama of trapping days Edward Rose played the conspicuous rôle of heavy villain. However, the worst that can be said of him is that through deceit and chicane he tricked the fur companies of their goods in order to glorify himself in the eyes of the Indians. He could not be trusted by his employers, was quarrelsome and dangerous when his blood was up, and lived a roving, precarious existence among the redskins. Yet even his worst enemies found his services invaluable during Indian troubles, and his bravery then as at other times often rose to the pitch of foolhardiness. He had been called a renegade, but he nevertheless displayed a sort of reckless gallantry which brought high praise from his commanders.

Of mixed blood, part negro, Cherokee and white, his appearance was that of an Indian — "black hair, changeable eyes, and fiendish expression of countenance when he chose it," according to Captain Holmes.

He is said to have adopted for "stage effect" his haughty bearing and severe and sinister cast of countenance, an effect which was in no wise lessened by an ugly brand upon his forehead and a nose with a piece bitten from its tip. His great strength, desperate fearlessness, and intimate knowledge of Indian ways gained him such prestige among the Crows that he became virtually their chief.

Most of the accounts of Rose are unsatisfactory. According to his biographer, Captain Reuben Holmes,¹⁶ he was born near Louisville, Kentucky. At the age of seventeen or eighteen he went down to New Orleans as a boatman, and in 1806 came to St. Louis, wintering on the Osage River. In the spring of 1807 he engaged with the Creole trader, Manuel Lisa, to ascend the Missouri, and he helped to build that ill-fated Fort Raymond, called "Manuel's Fort," at the mouth of the Big Horn River.

Possibly it was with John Colter,¹⁷ in the spring of 1808, that Lisa sent Rose into the Crow country to barter for furs. The goods were given away; Rose returned with no beaver; a quarrel ensued, and only through the quick action of John Potts was Lisa saved from the fury of Rose. Potts himself was killed a few months later at the time of Colter's race for life.

In the autumn of 1809 Andrew Henry found Rose at the Arikara village and took him to the mountains as an interpreter and trader. Here Rose again joined the Crows, adopted their dress and costume, "exchanged a favorite rifle and accoutrements for a wife," and became literally one of them. It was during his third year with this tribe that he accomplished a feat which caused the changing of his name from "Cut Nose" to "Five Scalps."¹⁸ This act of bravery was performed during a fight with the Minnetarees under circumstances similar to those of an affair in which Jim Beckwourth claimed to have taken part some twenty years later; and more will be said of this anon.

It was early in 1811 that Rose was discovered by Hunt's Astorians and engaged as interpreter during the time they were in the Crow country. Hunt's fear of Rose is a matter of record,¹⁹ but there may have been little cause for such alarm.

Rose probably met that subdivision of Ezekiel Williams' party

¹⁶ Holmes, "Five Scalps," in *St. Louis Weekly Reveille*, July 17 and 24, 1848; originally printed in the *St. Louis Beacon*, 1828,—copy kindly furnished by Miss Stella M. Drumm. Holmes is careless with his dates. Some of these have been corrected by reference to *Luttig's Journal of a Fur-Trader*, Missouri Historical Society, 1920, and some errors have been detected by Mr. W. J. Ghent.

¹⁷ For an account of Colter, see W. J. Ghent, *Proc. Calif. Acad. Social Sci.*, pp. 48-57. Mr. Ghent has told me that he is convinced that Colter was alone on his trip. This is also the opinion of Mr. Stallo Vinton in his recent book on Colter.

¹⁸ Holmes, *loc. cit.*

¹⁹ Irving, *Astoria*, 1849 ed., p. 229.

which crossed the Rockies at the headwaters of the Platte in 1812. Holmes says that Rose encountered "Chabeneau," doubtless Toussaint Charbonneau, in the Crow region, and that the latter formed the idea of "crossing over to the Snakes, with a party then about starting, and there purchase some Arapaho squaws, prisoners, for the sole purpose of bringing them into the trading establishments on the Missouri, and seling them as wives to 'engagees' for goods" — a disreputable proceeding to say the least. Rose went with Charbonneau and is said to have taken advantages of that gentleman's cowardice with some rather dangerous practical jokes.

When Lisa's two boats, on their way up the Missouri, passed the Arikara village, in August, 1812, Rose was there, painted and caparisoned as an Indian dandy. The meeting was naturally not an amicable one, but Lisa, perceiving Rose's influence with the Indians, reengaged him, and sent him out with an expedition in charge of Reuben Lewis to trap, and trade with the Crows and Cheyennes. Engaging in more of his thievery and finding it therefore necessary to break with Lewis, Rose went out "on his own hook" and "came upon a party under charge of Mr. John Dougherty," another of Lisa's leaders, who was trapping the Tongue and Powder rivers.

After exciting adventures, detailed by Holmes, Rose returned with Dougherty to Fort Manuel among the Arikaras. Here they found Lisa besieged by an angry mob of Cheyennes. Rose was called upon to assist in quieting the Indians.

In March of 1813 he embarked with Lisa to return to St. Louis, but the charms of an Omaha squaw defeated that purpose and he remained behind with the tribe. After living with them over two years, complaints regarding his conduct caused his arrest and he was taken to St. Louis in irons, leaving a wife and at least two children.

He is said to have gone on to New Orleans in 1816 and to have joined a gang of pirates in the Gulf. Returning in 1823, he joined General Ashley's boatmen and, as Clyman indicates, took a conspicuous part in the first Arikara fight. He was later appointed ensign in Leavenworth's troops and distinguished himself by his bravery in twice entering the hostile village.

After this, Rose, as already noticed, accompanied Jedediah Smith's party of which Clyman was a member. They "left the river at a place called the Big Bend, and in company with a few more of General Ashley's men started for the Crows, among whom . . . the party wintered," says Holmes, confirming Clyman's account. Rose, as Clyman says, was sent out in advance of the party to obtain horses from the Crows. After his return he seems to have associated himself more

closely with the Crows than with Smith's men. Although Clyman does not say that this resulted in any dissatisfaction or distrust of his services, yet it is probable, in view of Rose's past conduct, that such was the case. He should have continued his services as interpreter when the trappers were trying to find out from the Indians the best route across the mountains, but from the following statement of Clyman it is evident that he did not:²⁰

We went out to the Ogalla Sioux to get horses, and traded with them. Undertook to go to the territory of the Crow Indians, found them encamped on the Big Horn and staid with them most of the winter. We could not talk to them, but wanted information about the country west of them, but it seemed impossible to obtain it. We bought their beaver which were one main object of the trip. I spread out a buffalo robe and covered it with sand, and made it in heaps to represent the different mountains, (we were then encamped at the lower point of the Wind River Mountains) and from our sand map with the help of the Crows, finally got the idea that we could go to Green River, called by them Seeds-ka-day. We undertook it in February [1824].

Captain Holmes, in his account of Rose, makes it apparent that the interpreter was held in suspicion:

Nothing could be done without "Chee-ho-carte" [meaning "Five Scalps," Edward Rose]. Well does one of the editors of the Beacon [Col. Charles Keemle] remember the consideration in which he was held. Well does he recollect the difficulties that he and Gen. Ashley's clerk [probably referring to James Clyman] had in communicating their wishes to the Crows, and their still greater ones to induce them to adopt them unless "Chee-ho-carte" pronounced them good. He [Rose] was not at this time so fortunate in obtaining goods as he had previously been, as his practices were better known, and his character better understood than before. [Cf. also Irving, *Bonneville*, 1856 ed., p. 162.]

So we part with Rose so far as Clyman's account is concerned. He is said to have gone off alone on a trapping expedition into the Black-foot country, was captured by them and forced to submit to their favorite sport, a "race for life," the story of which bears earmarks of being a refabrication of the Colter tale. He turned up at Council Bluffs in the spring of 1825 and accompanied the O'Fallon expedition to the Mandan villages, acting as interpreter and on one occasion furnishing a striking display of violent temper for Holmes, who was present, to record.

There is an episode that has, I believe, been wrongly identified with Rose's career. The accounts that Zenas Leonard²¹ gives of the "old negro" he found living among the Crows in 1832 and 1834 might better be ascribed to James Beckwourth than to Rose. Leaving out of consideration the probability that Rose died before the latter date, there are a number of points in which the Leonard narrative agrees more closely with the career of Beckwourth:—

Beckwourth had been associated with "Mackinney," Kenneth Mac-

²⁰ Montgomery, *Biographical Sketch*, Bancroft Library, Calif. MS.

²¹ Narrative, W. F. Wagner edition, 1904, pp. 130 and 264-67; cf. Chittenden, *History of the Fur Trade*, 1902, p. 687.

Kenzie, Rose had not; Beckwourth gives an account of the stealing of Bonneville's horses which Leonard and others mention as occurring in the latter part of the year 1832; Beckwourth was eleven years older than Dr. Wagner makes him out to be and could have been called an "old man" as were some trappers even younger than he; finally, the storming of the Blackfoot ford, which Leonard claimed to have witnessed, is an incident not only described similarly and in detail by Beckwourth but which Parkman,²² who got the story from the son of old Pierre Dorion in 1846, did not believe until he had "heard it confirmed from so many independent sources that [his] skepticism was almost overcome."

How Rose met his death is not certainly known. Holmes reports that he was killed some time before 1828. Tradition has it that he was blown up, perhaps voluntarily, in a powder explosion while fighting the Arikaras near Fort Cass.²³ Chittenden asserts that his grave is on the Missouri near the mouth of Milk River. Jim Beckwourth gives an ambiguous and highly colored tale which nevertheless provides a date that may be tentatively accepted since other occurrences mentioned by him as happening at this time can be authenticated.

Beckwourth²⁴ reports that Rose was killed in the early spring [of 1833] at the same time and probably under the same circumstances as Hugh Glass.²⁵ Beckwourth tells of the powder explosion which apparently occurred at least two days after Glass's death and just after the stealing of Johnson Gardner's horses by the Arikaras.²⁶ The men killed in the explosion were evidently three of Gardner's party of twenty trappers. Unless I misunderstand Beckwourth's story, the three men who were killed on the ice, whom Beckwourth claims to have buried and for whom the Crows mourned, included Hugh Glass and Edward Rose, two of the most remarkable characters that ever answered the call of the mountains.

CLYMAN'S ADVENTURES IN THE ROCKIES, 1824-27

Clyman's adventures in the mountains during the next three years can only be pieced out from scattered fragments of information. The date of his return to Fort Atkinson was probably about the fifteenth of September, 1824, since he was said to have been eighty days²⁷ in

²² *Oregon Trail*, 1892 ed., pp. 133-34.

²³ Cf. Bradley, "Edward Rose," *Contrib. Hist. Soc. Montana*, vol. 8, 1917, pp. 155-61.

²⁴ T. D. Bonner, *Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth*, 1856, pp. 253-59.

²⁵ For similar accounts of Glass's death see Maximilian, quoted in Chittenden, *loc. cit.*, pp. 705-6; and *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 32.

²⁶ Cf. Maximilian, *loc. cit.*; and Irving, *Bonneville*, 1856 ed., pp. 177-79.

²⁷ Letter of John Hustis, quoted hereinafter.

walking those 600 miles. Also Beckwourth states that Fitzpatrick started back from the fort to rescue his outfit in September, and Kennerly's diary records Fitzpatrick's second return to the fort, October 26, 1824.

General Ashley after hearing Fitzpatrick's report upon the feasibility of the South Pass route to the transmontane trapping grounds decided to lose no time in opening up that new district. He made hasty preparations and left, with a poorly equipped outfit, on the third of November, 1824, for a toilsome journey across the plains in the dead of winter. Doubtless Clyman accompanied him, for on April 21, on Green River, Ashley dispatched "six men northwardly to the sources of the river, . . . selecting one of the most intelligent and efficient" to act as leader²⁸—a choice which evidently fell upon James Clyman.

Beckwourth says that "one, Clement" was in charge. Dale thinks this refers to one of the Claymores (Clements) of which there were at least two in the mountains.²⁹ From what Clyman himself told Montgomery, and the entry in his return transcontinental diary under date of June 13, 1846, it seems evident that Clyman was the "Clement" of Beckwourth's narrative. Let us turn to Montgomery's *Sketch*:

Here [on Green River] the party separated into three divisions. I was left with 3 others to trap and explore the country up Green River and its branches. Capt. Smith³⁰ had 8 men and went West. Fitzpatrick, with three men went south into the Wasatch [Uintah] Mountains, . . . my party were doing well trapping beaver when one day 17 [Arapaho] Indians came to us and stayed 3 or 4 days. At last, one night the Indians crept up and killed the man on guard with an ax, and charged on us with two guns—a ball passed through my caput that answered for a pillow, but did not touch me. We all sprang up. The Indians flew into the brush, we crawled out into the open ground and made a little breastwork or fort of stone, just about daylight. They tried to get us out from behind it, but didn't succeed. We fired at them, and I think I killed one. We were very much discouraged—being only 3 men in a country full of Indians, and concluded to take Fitzpatrick's trail and join him.

All this agrees fairly well with Beckwourth³¹ except that both Beckwourth and Ashley say that six men, not four, made up the original detachment. Beckwourth reports that the murdered man's name was "Le Brache"—La Barge, for whom the stream upon which they were encamped was doubtless named. In a casualty list of "Persons killed belonging to the parties of William H. Ashley" during the years 1823-

²⁸ Dale, *Ashley-Smith Explorations*, pp. 93, 117-118.

²⁹ Antoine Claymore, mentioned in 1832 by Meek, Victor, *River of the West*, 1877, p. 138; and Basil Claymore (Clement) who did not arrive until 1840, *S. D. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. II, 1922. "A Louis Clermo received in October 1832, \$123.37½ in the settlement of accounts between the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and William L. Sublette. Thomas Eddie received \$40.00 in this same settlement,"—information from Miss Stella M. Drumm of the Missouri Historical Society.

³⁰ Perhaps a mistake since Smith had probably not rejoined Ashley this early in the spring of 1825. Clyman evidently had in mind events of the previous spring.

³¹ *Life and Adventures*, 1856, pp. 62-67.

1829, Clyman is mentioned as the leader of a party one of whom had been killed, "name not recollected."³²

Clyman evidently stayed in the mountains with Sublette's party during the time that Ashley returned to St. Louis. He next appears as one of the four men who circumnavigated the Great Salt Lake in the fall of 1825, or, as Robert Campbell³³ said, in the spring of 1826. Clyman's entry in his diary, June 1, 1846, gives the date as 1825, and identifies himself for the first time as one of those who made the voyage. The names of the others are not known. Letters, written to Lyman C. Draper by John Hustis and Hiram Ross, Wisconsin friends of Clyman, mention the Salt Lake voyage. An article in *Niles Register*, December 9, 1826,³⁴ gives the following:

It was coasted last spring by a party of Gen. Ashley's men in canoes, who were occupied four and twenty days, in making its circuit. They did not exactly ascertain its outlet but passed a place where they supposed it must have been.

Clyman is now lost sight of until the fall of 1827, when as his diary relates (June 24, 1844) he came out of the mountains for the last time, returning to St. Louis by the Platte route, where he "had the honorable post of being pilot" for his train. His success was attested by the valuable pack of beaver fur which he brought home.

Among Clyman's papers, at Napa, there still exists a receipt for 278 pounds of "Mountain Beaver" at \$4.50 a pound signed by Wilson P. Hunt, the Astorian, who was postmaster and trader in St. Louis at that time, October 17, 1827.

A further glance at Clyman's career in the mountains is furnished by General Randolph B. Marcy:³⁵

While traveling in Wisconsin in the winter of 1835, I fell in with a remarkably interesting and intelligent man by the name of Clyburn, who accompanied me from Sheboygan to Green Bay . . .

I found Mr. Clyburn a very pleasant traveling companion, and he very kindly whiled away the monotony of our long and solitary ride through that dense wilderness by relating to me several thrilling incidents in the history of his highly eventful career. As his character for honor and veracity are fully established, and will, I dare say, be vouched for by the early settlers of Milwaukee, the reader may rest perfectly assured that every word of his narrative has the impress of reality and truth . . .

Mr. Clyburn and a companion were at one time assigned to a district within the country frequented by the Blackfeet Indians, who had always manifested a most implacable spirit of hostility to the whites, and made war upon them whenever they met.

The two companions, however exercised the greatest possible precaution in visiting their traps only at early dawn and late in the evening, and lying concealed in some solitary mountain glen during the daytime. Thus they continued their business during the entire season . . . they determined to cross a stream which lay

³² Document in the Missouri Historical Society collections.

³³ *Pacific Railroad Reports*, vol. XI, p. 35. Campbell recollected "their report that it was without any outlet."

³⁴ Quoted from the *Missouri Herald*.

³⁵ *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*, 1866, pp. 412-15.

in their route, and had already entered a grove of timber that covered the bottom lands, when all at once, to their perfect amazement and horror, they emerged directly into a huge encampment of Blackfeet Indians. Mr. Clyburn, who was, under all circumstances, cool and self-possessed, motioned to his companion to follow him, and rode directly up to the chief's lodge, telling him by signs that they were friends, had come into his camp to pass the night, and claimed his protection; thinking that this appeal to his hospitality . . . might touch his pride, and possibly induce him to spare their lives. The chief received them very coldly . . . required them to give an account of themselves . . . The squaws set some buffalo meat before them . . . but although they had been traveling a long time, and, under ordinary circumstances, would have done ample justice to the fare, yet their surroundings . . . were of such a character as almost entirely to take away their appetites. They, however, in order to do away with any exhibition of alarm on their part, forced themselves to swallow some of the meat, then lit their pipes . . . Clyburn, who understood a little of the Blackfeet language overheard the chief tell some of his warriors that he and his companion must be put to death . . . he immediately resolved upon the course they should pursue, and very quietly . . . informed his friend . . . directing him . . . to keep constant watch upon his own movements and to do precisely as he did. He waited until nearly dark . . . when the Indians seemed off their guard . . . to spring to his feet and . . . run rapidly toward the river. His friend followed, but the Indians . . . seizing their arms, pursued them closely, firing many balls and arrows . . . He, however, had the good fortune to reach the river, and jumped in, diving deeply, and striking out . . . for the opposite shore, and hid himself under a shelving bank. Here he awaited in great anxiety for some time, until the Indians had . . . returned to their camps, when he crawled out and endeavored to get some trace of his friend, but none was found and he was never heard of afterwards.

IN THE BLACK HAWK WAR

Some say it was in 1829 that James Clyman abandoned his hazardous life as a trapper, but he had undoubtedly returned to St. Louis two years before then. With the proceeds of the sale of his beaver furs he bought land near Danville, Illinois, and placed his two brothers there to farm.³⁶ These were John and another, perhaps the Lancaster Clyman that James heard of in Oregon in 1844. This farm may be the one Clyman sold to C. S. Galusha in 1838, for fifty dollars an acre.³⁷ It was located on the north bank of the Big Vermillion River at the junction of the North Fork and the main stream.

James entered business in a general store with Daniel W. Beckwith, setting up in "one of the first log stores in Danville."³⁸ Subsequently, it seems, Goulding Arnett took over Beckwith's share in the partnership and the firm continued under the name of Clyman and Arnett until 1839. Lands belonging to Clyman were then sold in order to pay off certain notes which were overdue.³⁹

These mercantile pursuits suffered a rude but perhaps not unwel-

³⁶ *Narrative of Hiram Beckwith*, MS. in the Draper collection, Wisconsin Historical Society.

³⁷ Note in the Clyman papers, in the Tallman collection in the Huntington Library.

³⁸ H. W. Beckwith and Son, *History of Vermillion County, Illinois*, Chicago, 1879, pp. 318 and 325.

³⁹ Bills and notes among the Clyman papers, in the Tallman collection.

come interruption in the outbreak of the Black Hawk War. Clyman served for two years. He enlisted as a private in Captain (Dr.) Jacob M. Early's Company of Mounted Volunteers on June 21, 1832, where he remained until July 10 of the same year.⁴⁰ During this time Abraham Lincoln was also a private in this company. Clyman told Montgomery of his service with Lincoln, and added: "We didn't think much then about his ever being President."⁴¹

The details of this first short campaign are well known.⁴² A march was made from Dixon's Ferry on the 27th to Whitewater River, where the country was scoured in search of fleeing Indians, none of whom were encountered. The only fighting done, as Lincoln afterwards said, was with the mosquitoes.

Clyman was commissioned a second lieutenant of Mounted Rangers July 23, 1832. He joined Jesse B. Browne's company in Major Henry Dodge's newly organized battalion. After the capture of Black Hawk the rangers moved down to Rock Island. There, on September 23, Clyman was appointed assistant commissary of subsistence for Browne's company.⁴³

The most important activity of the troops during the next year was the removal of the Winnebago Indians from their ancestral home in Wisconsin.⁴⁴ While this movement was in progress Clyman was transferred to the First Dragoons, September 19, 1833. This command was sent to Fort Gibson and finally to Missouri. Here Clyman sent in his resignation,⁴⁵ which was accepted on May 31, 1834.

Clyman returned to Danville and his long neglected business only to find himself besieged with accounts from the Commissary General of Subsistence at Washington. Some of these notes went back to the time of Clyman's predecessor in 1832. They requested the return of vouchers and abstracts of ration issues made during campaigns in the field. Clyman stood charged on the books with over \$400, and there is evidence that he paid over a part of this sum during the next year.⁴⁶ Accountability in the army was then adjusted on an even more minute scale than it is today.

⁴⁰ Isaac H. Elliott, *Illinois Soldiers in the Black Hawk War in 1831-1832*, Springfield, 1882.

⁴¹ R. T. Montgomery, *Biographical Sketch of James Clyman*, Calif. MS., Bancroft Library.

⁴² Frank E. Stevens, *The Black Hawk War*, Chicago, 1903. Alfred A. Jackson. "Abraham Lincoln in the Black Hawk War," *Wisconsin Hist. Collections*, vol. 14, 1898, pp. 118-36. Reuben G. Thwaites, "The Story of the Black Hawk War," *ibid.*, vol. 12, 1892, pp. 216-65.

⁴³ Order signed by Major Dodge, in the Tallman papers.

⁴⁴ Louise P. Kellogg, "The Removal of the Winnebago," *Trans. Wisconsin Acad. of Sci. Arts and Letters*, vol. 21, July, 1924.

⁴⁵ Letter of Lt. Col. Stephen W. Kearny, dated Jefferson Barracks, May 12, 1834, in the Tallman papers.

⁴⁶ Papers in the Tallman collection.

PIONEERING IN WISCONSIN

The Wisconsin wilderness must have remained as a fascinating memory in Clyman's restless soul, for scarcely a year had passed when, with his friend Hiram Ross, he set out northward again. Ross recollects that:⁴⁷

Clyman & myself came together to Wisconsin about the 7th of January, 1835. We made our claims on government land. We stayed about three weeks in Milwaukee and then went back to Danville together. We travelled on horseback. About the last of February Clyman & I started for Milwaukee again, with two teams loaded with provisions we were about 7 or 8 days on the road. We (Clyman and I) built a sawmill on the Monomonee River about four miles from Milwaukee, in 1836, in the spring & summer.

This mill, later known as the "Ross Mill," every trace of which disappeared more than fifty years ago, was located in the northwest quarter of Section 26, Township 7, Range 21, in the town of Wauwatosa.⁴⁸ A large amount of lumber was sawed there. The mill was originally built for the firm of Clyman and Arnett, and Clyman himself furnished two hundred dollars to start the work.⁴⁹

Apparently the first land that Ross and Clyman took up in Wisconsin lay in what, a year later, became the town of Milwaukee. Clyman was "floated out" of all but a fourteenth interest in the town lots which were surveyed upon his claim. On July 20, 1836, he appointed the pioneer, Byron Kilbourn, as his attorney to sell his share in the property which lay in Lot Number 2, Section 20, Township 7, Range 22, in the Milwaukee tract.⁵⁰

In March, 1839, Clyman paid taxes on property in Milwaukee County—"Viz—Lots 1. & 2. of Section 31. Township No. 8. of Range 22 East—Also the North West quarter of Sec. 8. Township No 7—N. of Range 22 East also the N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec 18. T. 7. Range 22 East." Clyman's original claim of eighty acres is said to have been a little north of what is now Chestnut Street, in Milwaukee.⁵¹ He was remembered by old-time Milwaukeeans "for his singular traits of character as well as for his daring spirit . . . Few men then living had seen so much of life in the rough, or were better constituted to enjoy it than he . . . To him the frontier was a paradise."⁵²

Discontented with his new Milwaukee claim, probably on account of the inrush of squatters, Clyman determined to move on northward. In

⁴⁷ Letter to L. C. Draper, dated Delavan, Wisconsin, July 2, 1879, in the Draper collection.

⁴⁸ James S. Buck, *Pioneer History of Milwaukee*, Milwaukee, 1881, vol. 2, p. 13.

⁴⁹ Receipt signed by Goulding Arnett, dated "Milwaukie May 24th 1836," in the Tallman papers.

⁵⁰ Document in the Tallman papers.

⁵¹ Letter of John Hustis, quoted hereinafter.

⁵² James S. Buck, *loc. cit.*

company with Ellsworth Burnett he was a victim of a tragic event, the story of which has been told by Buck:⁵³

Clyman and Burnett left Milwaukee on the 4th of November, 1835, for a trip to Rock river, in search of land. They reached the river on the second day out. At a point where the present village of Theresa, Dodge county, now stands, they found an Indian Wigwam, occupied by a squaw, from whom they purchased a canoe for fifty cents, in which to descend the river, and into which they placed their baggage and proceeded on their way. They were hardly out of sight of the wigwam, when two Indians, one the husband and the other the son of the squaw, came home, who, on learning what had occurred, at once started in pursuit for the purpose of killing both of them, partly for the recovery of the canoe, but principally to avenge the death of a brother of the squaw, who was killed by a soldier at Fort Winnebago, two years before.

Meanwhile, Clyman and Burnett had reached a point about a mile and a half from Theresa, about sunset, and were preparing to take up their quarters for the night in an old deserted cabin which some wandering trapper had erected there in former years, when the two Indians came up and entered the cabin, where Burnett was busy making a fire. He was instantly shot by the son, before Clyman, who was outside gathering wood for the night, had any suspicion of their hostile intentions.

The report of the gun, followed by a screech of agony from Burnett, caused Clyman to look up, when he saw the old Indian, whose name was "Ash-e-ka-pa-we," or in English, "I stand here, or here I stand," standing in the door of the cabin, beckoning him to come quickly, giving him to understand at the same time that Burnett had accidentally shot himself. Clyman at once started for the cabin, and had nearly reached it, when the old rascal threw off the mask, and raised his gun to shoot him. This at once opened Clyman's eyes as to what had happened to Burnett, as well as to what would be likely to happen to himself if he remained there long; and he at once commenced to run, jumping at the same time from side to side, in order to make it the more difficult for the old sinner to hit him.

Old Ash-e-ka-pa-we, seeing that his little game was not only discovered, but that his victim was also likely to escape, at once fired, the shot taking effect in Clyman's left arm, breaking the bone just below the elbow; while at the same time the son, Ush-ho-ma, alias Mach-e-oke-ma (or the little chief) came out of the cabin, and taking Clyman's own gun, which stood leaning against it, loaded with buck-shot, discharged the contents into his back [thigh], after which both started in pursuit. This last shot was not very effective, on account of the distance Clyman was from them by that time, for he could run like a deer; and the principal effect was to make him, as he expressed it, "as mad as hell" to be peppered in that way with his own gun, and he would have liked to return the compliment very much, but as *sauve qui peut* was the order of the day just then, he kept on, until the voices of his pursuers, as they called to each other, one of them keeping on each side of, and about parallel with him for a short time, were lost in the distance, when he hid under a fallen tree.*

By this time it was dark, and after listening until their retreating footsteps were lost in the distance, he bound up his wounded arm with his handkerchief, after which he took his course for Milwaukee, distant fifty miles, and every foot of the way an unbroken wilderness. He held his left arm in his right hand, traveled hard all that night, during which it rained steadily, the next day and night, and in the forenoon of the second day came out near the Cold Spring, having eaten nothing during all this terrible journey.

Here he met his old Rocky Mountain comrade, John Bowen, of Wauwatosa, who was not aware that he had left Milwaukee, and to whom he said: "O, John, how I wish we had taken you along. Wouldn't we have fixed them red devils!" He was taken to the house of Wm. Woodward, at the Cold Spring, where his wounds were dressed by Bowen, who was the only one he would allow to touch him, and where he remained until his wounds were healed.

⁵³ *Idem*, pp. 14-17. Cf. also, A. C. Wheeler, *The Chronicles of Milwaukee*, 1861, pp. 43-47.

* So close was the search for him that they both stood at one time upon this very tree, beneath which he was concealed, and so near him that he could hear all they said.

As an exhibition of physical endurance, this has seldom if ever been equaled; and as a specimen of skill in wood craft, never.

The subsequent capture and confinement of the Indians at Green Bay, trial at Milwaukee under Judge Frazier in 1837, and subsequent pardon by Gov. Henry Dodge, was related in Volume I. Neither of them were ever seen in Milwaukee again after their release, at least as long as Clyman remained in the country, for he would certainly have killed them both had he found them. And it might truthfully be said that the fear of him was upon every Indian then here, for not one of them would remain in the town twenty minutes after they got sight of him. A whole regiment of soldiers could not have inspired them with a greater desire for the solitude of the wilderness, than did the presence of this one man. I well remember being in the old corner store where Ludington's block now stands, at the corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets, then kept by McDonald and Mallaby, in the summer of 1837, and watching the effect that the *entree* of Clyman had upon some Indians that were lounging about the store. The moment they saw him they started for the door, casting furtive glances behind them as they went out, while upon his face, as he stood gazing at them, was an expression, and in his eyes a look, that would have frozen the marrow in the bones of a timorous man. They hastened out of sight as soon as possible. It was wonderful what effect his presence had in emptying that store. He was their "Jibbinenosey."*

Colonel Clyman belonged to that class of men ever to be found in advance of civilization, who form the advance guard, the pioneer proper. Consequently the country had no sooner begun to settle up, than he was away . . .

It is recorded elsewhere that the motive for the murder of Burnett "was revenge for the death of an Indian at Fort Winnebago, killed by a sentry, this Indian was brother-in-law of the one who killed Burnett, and the other Indian was son of the murderer."⁵⁴

Clyman was badly wounded. The shot in his thigh were taken out by Milwaukee surgeons, but he limped for a long time afterwards. He is said to have returned to Theresa to obtain his gun, a "double barreled stub and twist shot gun, large caliber." Henry Dodge, who finally pardoned the culprits "on the grounds of expediency," was Clyman's old colonel in the Rangers, and in October of the previous year, 1836, Dodge, who was then territorial governor of Wisconsin, appointed James Clyman, "Colonel of Militia," at Milwaukee.⁵⁵

As a sequel to the Burnett affair, forty-nine settlers petitioned Congress to "pass a law" awarding a square mile of bounty land to James Clyman, who, they said, had lost three hundred and fifty dollars in cash and the use of his arm. They represented him as being "one of the most honorable and worthy citizens" of Milwaukee. The petition was not signed by Clyman "nor by any person in his name or in his behalf," and the claim was not granted.⁵⁶

Clyman, caught in the whirl of the 'land-fever,' evidently had been at Green Bay before to take up claims, since in September, 1835, he attended a land sale there as a representative of the settlers in their con-

* A name given by the Shawnee Indians to a Quaker, known among the whites as Peaceful Nathan, who marked every Indian he killed with a cross on the breast, with his knife. It means in English, The Devil.

⁵⁴ Note appended to *Narrative of Hiram Beckwith*, in the Draper collection.

⁵⁵ Information from Miss Annie A. Nunns of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

⁵⁶ 24th Cong. 1st Sess. House Claims Committee, report no. 468, March 24, 1836, Report on case of James Clyman.

flict with the "speculators," and was one of seven who published a card of thanks "for the handsome manner in which their claims were regarded."⁵⁷

From 1836 until 1840 Clyman was back in his business at Danville. Later he took out a contract for the "placing of milestones on the old state road, laid out by authority of the legislature of Illinois, from Vincennes Indiana to Chicago."⁵⁸

In politics Clyman was at this time a Whig. In January, 1841, at the Milwaukee celebration of Harrison's election, Clyman was marshal of the day.⁵⁹ His character and appearance then were probably about as pictured by his Wisconsin friends, who wrote from memory after a lapse of many years:

Clyman was tall—his height being more than six feet; his shoulders were rounded and a little stooping; he was raw boned and angular; a man of great muscular power, possessed of wonderful endurance; and endowed with a daring courage and coolness of temper that fitted him in a remarkable degree for the dangerous life in which he found employment and pleasure. He was frank and kind to a fault, ever ready to assist a friend in need. He was a splendid rifle shot and a successful hunter.⁶⁰

Buck says:⁶¹

He had dark brown hair, and a dark or swarthy [ruddy] complexion. His head was rather larger than the average, with a high forehead. He had small, dark blue eyes, set wide apart, that seemed to look you through. His face was thin and beardless, with high cheek bones. His mouth was small, and his lips, which were thin, were generally slightly pressed together. He spoke with a slight Southern accent, in a clear, distinct tone, and was a man of few words, but of wonderful deeds. In manner he was a perfect gentlemen, courteous and dignified to all; but at the same time not over easy to get acquainted with; and, like Orrendorf [another Wisconsin pioneer], "a dangerous foe when aroused." He possessed the keenest sight of any man I ever knew. He seldom laughed or showed any emotion, except when an Indian was in sight, when an expression would appear upon his face not difficult to interpret, and one that most certainly boded no good to the Indian. He walked with a long, quick stride, stooped a little, a habit no doubt acquired in his early frontier life, from carrying a pack. He was a splendid woodsman; no better ever lived here, and was possessed of wonderful powers of endurance, as his journey from Rock River to Milwaukee after the killing of Burnett, fully proves.

A. C. Dodge, son of Colonel Henry, wrote⁶² that "he was noted for enterprise, activity and undaunted courage."

THE EMIGRANTS OF 1844

Seventeen years have now passed since James Clyman left the mountains and returned to St. Louis, a successful fur hunter. Rapid changes are now appearing along the old trappers' trails. The covered wagon days have come. Throughout the bottom lands of Missouri, into

⁵⁷ *Green Bay Intelligencer*, quoted from Buck, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁸ *Narrative of Hiram Beckwith*, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁹ Information from Miss Annie A. Nunns.

⁶⁰ *Narrative of Hiram Beckwith*, *loc. cit.*

⁶¹ Buck, *loc. cit.*

⁶² Draper manuscripts.

the farms of Illinois and Indiana and the backwoods of Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas, rages a contagious "fever" of a different sort than the well known malarial "ague." The promise of free land in Oregon and reports of a squatters' paradise in California have begun to inflame the restless settlers, who sell their farms, stow their belongings into ox-carts and covered wagons and organize their caravans at the frontier settlements for the long westward trek.

For four years now Indian scouts on the plains have watched the passage of a yearly increasing number of emigrant trains. Every spring, for four years, at Westport, Independence and Council Bluffs an increasing bustle and confusion has marked the assembly and departure of the settlers' caravans. Old mountaineers gather to see the sport, answer questions, give advice, and finally to be hired as guides. The frontier is moving west.

James Clyman, in the spring of 1844 had traveled down from Wisconsin on horseback to "see the country and try to find a better climate" to rid himself of a cough that had troubled him during the cold winter of the previous year. He journeyed into Arkansas and back through Missouri where, at Independence, he finds the overland emigrants assembling. Remembering how healthy he had been during his previous life in the mountains, he determines to go along. He also determines to write out a daily record of his experiences, which he continues during his travels in Oregon and California and his return to his starting point in 1846. This is the narrative which forms a large part of the following pages.

The emigration of 1844, consisting of nearly 1500 persons mostly from the western frontier, outnumbered all the emigrants of the four preceding years. There were five detachments at the start, the three largest of which went through to Oregon. These were led by General Cornelius Gilliam, John Thorp, and Colonel Nathaniel Ford. Gilliam's party of over three hundred assembled at Fort Leavenworth.⁶³ Thorp's company traveled an independent route as far as Fort Laramie,⁶⁴ following the north bank of the Platte. The party, which after the start elected Ford as its captain, rendezvoused at Independence, where Clyman joined them, and left at least two weeks before Gilliam's train. There were about five hundred persons in Ford's command. These organized into messes of about twenty each, as was the custom before entering the Indian country. Clyman seems to have acted as a sort of treasurer for a part of the outfit.

⁶³ Montgomery, *Biographical Sketch of James Clyman*, loc. cit.

⁶⁴ *Daily Missouri Republican*, May 28, 1844, quoted in *Publ. Nebraska State Hist. Soc.*, vol. 20, 1922, p. 126.

In addition to the three Oregon trains there was a small party, principally from Holt County, Missouri, captained by the old trapper, Elisha Stephens. They traveled off and on with the main Oregon trains until they reached Fort Hall, when some of them turned aside and went directly into California. This was the Stephens-Townsend-Murphy party, the first to take wagons over the summit of the Sierra Nevada, and the first, so far as known, to cross by the Truckee route. At Truckee (Donner) Lake they built a cabin that was used the next winter by some of the families of the Donner party. In the Stephens train at the start there were said to have been "27 wagons in all, about 40 men, and a large proportion of women and children."⁶⁵ Clyman reports that only thirteen wagons turned off at Fort Hall.

A fifth company was that of Sublette. Minto says he was the famous trapper William Sublette. His train was a small one of twenty-two men, half of whom were traveling for their health. After burying at least three of their number his party is said to have repaired to Brown's Hole to spend the summer in the Rocky Mountains.

BLACK HARRIS

The Gilliam and Ford emigrants of 1844 were guided to Oregon by the old mountain man, Moses Harris, often called "Black" Harris, or "Major" Harris. He was connected originally with the Ford company, and seems to have been of service to all the emigrants on the road west of Fort Hall. His work then and during the next five years as a pioneer of new immigrant routes across the Cascade Mountains, and into California and northern Nevada, was conspicuous, and entitles him to be remembered as one of the active spirits in the development of the West.

Clyman's facetious verse indicates the happy-go-lucky, jovial good nature of the guide who was famous for his conviviality and love of a good joke or a cheerful yarn.

Moses Harris is said, on rather doubtful authority,⁶⁶ to have hailed from Kentucky. Gray describes him as "of medium height, black hair, black whiskers, dark brown eyes, and very dark complexion." He first appears as one of Ashley's trappers in 1823, and was even then reckoned as an "experienced mountaineer . . . in whom the general reposed the strictest confidence for his knowledge of the country and his familiarity with Indian life."⁶⁷ It is probable that Harris went out for the first time with Ashley's expedition of 1822.

His proverbial powers of endurance doubtless caused William L.

⁶⁵ *Idem*, June 11, 1844, quoted in *ibid*, p. 127.

⁶⁶ W. H. Gray, *A History of Oregon*, Portland, 1870, p. 125.

⁶⁷ T. D. Bonner, *J. P. Beckwourth*, 1856, pp. 23-24.

Sublette to choose him as sole companion on the trip out of the mountains to St. Louis in the winter of 1825-26. Joe Meek said they went "on snow shoes with a train of pack dogs."⁶⁸ The following spring Sublette and Harris guided Ashley back through the South Pass.⁶⁹

During the thirties Harris became a leader of mountain men, and was active as a trapper and a pilot of trappers' caravans. Nathaniel Wyeth, a rival trader, encountered him, and in speaking of Indian depredations says:⁷⁰

[Bonneville] lost one entire party among the Crows that is the Horses and of course all the Beavers. A party under Bridger and Frapp also lost their horses by the Aricarees, also Harris party lost theirs by the same Inds. who have taken a permanent residence on the Platte and left the Missouri which is the reason I go by the last named river. Harris party did not interfere with any of my plans south of Snake River . . . Harris party now in hand 7 packs Beaver and are on foot.

Hinman claims that Harris conducted Marcus Whitman, the missionary, across the mountains.⁷¹ Harris was with the trappers who convoyed the Whitman party as far as the rendezvous on Green River in 1836, as appears from the fact that Mrs. Whitman had him to tea on June 4, 1836.⁷² Whether he met Whitman and Parker the previous year I do not know. In 1838 he traveled across the plains in the trappers' caravan which escorted the American Board missionaries, W. H. Gray, Elkanah Walker, Cushing Eells and A. B. Smith. Mrs. Eells mentions him in her diary under dates of April 28, May 26 and July 4.⁷³

Harris' interest in the acquisition of the Far West is first evident from his letter written to Thornton Grimsley offering to join a filibustering expedition:⁷⁴

Independence [Missouri] June 4th 1841.

Your name is well known in the mountains by many of your old friends who would be glad to join the standard of their country, and make a clean sweep of what is called the Oregon Territory; that is to clear it of British and Indians. I was one of seven hundred who invited you to take command and march through to California, and will be with you if you can get the Government of the United States to authorize the occupancy of the Oregon Country. I have been as you know 20 years in the mountains. The British have now taken possession of Fort Hall, formerly a trading post of some American trappers, and are repairing and putting it in military customs. Why our Government suffers these things I know not. The North West Company does not only take from our territory from one to two millions of furs and peltries per year but they influence the Blackfeet, and other tribes of Indians to take our scalps.

On January 7, 1844, the *New Orleans Picayune* printed the following:⁷⁵

⁶⁸ F. F. Victor, *River of the West*, Hartford, 1877, p. 81.

⁶⁹ H. C. Dale, *Ashley-Smith Explorations*, Cleveland, 1918, p. 165.

⁷⁰ "Wyeth's Journals and Correspondence," in *Sources of the History of Oregon*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 69-70; Letter to F. Ermatinger from Green River, July 18, 1883.

⁷¹ "Recollections of Alanson Hinman," *Oregon Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, vol. 2, 1901, p. 266.

⁷² "Diary of Narcissa Prentiss Whitman," *Trans. Oregon Pioneer Association*, 1893, p. 105.

⁷³ "Journal of Myra F. Eells," *ibid*, 1889.

⁷⁴ Quoted from the *Oregon Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, vol. 24, 1923, p. 438.

⁷⁵ *Idem*, vol. 22, 1921, p. 194.

Major Harris, the same "Black Harris," who has been mentioned in our mountain sketches, and a famous old traveler, is now at Independence, preparing for a great expedition to Oregon next spring. He is connected with Major Adams, who gives some excellent advice to emigrants wishing to join them. Major Adams says that notwithstanding "large bodies move slow," he can easily move his expedition even to the shores of the Pacific in four months . . .

Again on March 13, 1844, the *Picayune* mentions an article published in a paper in Independence, Missouri, in which Moses Harris corrects certain statements made by T. J. Farnham respecting the road to Oregon. Harris, it is asserted, "has traveled the route over and over again, and knows every tree, creek, spring, hill and hollow that lies in the way of the traveler."

After guiding the emigrants through, Harris remained three years in Oregon, engaging in road building and exploration. During the year 1845 he is reported to have been "hunting a better road than the one now [then] travelled from Fort Hall to Oregon City . . . He is as fearless as an eagle, strong as the elk, preferring the wild haunts of the Indian and the buffalo to the tameness of civilized life."⁷⁶

The route down the Columbia having been found difficult and a number of lives having been lost by drowning in the passage of the Dalles, public-spirited citizens of the Willamette had subscribed \$2000 in the summer of 1845 for the discovery and exploration of a new road across the Cascade Mountains. Elijah White, sub-Indian agent in Oregon, set out with a party, including Harris, in search of a feasible pass. They traveled the whole length of the east side of the Willamette valley and finally, in order not to return wholly unsuccessful, explored a short route to the sea through the Coast Range.⁷⁷

White, Harris and six others then started again for the States with dispatches for the government and testimonials which White had obtained in order to secure the post of governor of the territory. At White's request Clyman wrote an account of Oregon, a draft of which is printed farther on in the course of this article.

Harris left the party near the Dalles, and some time later was met there by Stephen H. L. Meek, who had just made a disastrous failure of an attempt to guide a large party of emigrants through the Cascades from the head of the Malheur River. Meek, leaving his train on the Des Chutes, in desperate circumstances, had gone ahead for supplies. Harris with a few other whites and Indians hurried back with pack-loads of food, axes, ropes and other material to cross the gorge. A sus-

⁷⁶ *St. Louis Reveille*, Aug. 25 and June 9, 1845.

⁷⁷ Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, vol. 1, pp. 484-85; A. J. Allen, *Ten Years in Oregon*, Ithaca, 1850 ed., pp. 265-75.

pension ferry was improvised and the wretched party was conducted to the Columbia, where many died of famine and disease.⁷⁸

Continued efforts were made, during 1846, to find a way across the Cascade Range. Barlow's trail over a pass near Mount Hood was, so far, impracticable. In the spring, Harris and six other road hunters failed in an attempt to locate a pass at the sources of the Willamette. Another attempt was made in May by Captain Levi Scott and a small party which again included Harris. They were compelled to return for reinforcements to resist the Indians, but went out again in June, fifteen strong, on a final successful effort. Before starting they talked with Peter Skene Ogden, who told them that the Klamath country would probably not be found passable for wagons.

The trail they explored—one afterwards traveled extensively by Oregon and California immigrants—led across the Calapooya Mountains to the canyon of the Umpqua, up that and into the Rogue River valley, thence southeast to the foot of the Siskiyou Range, on the old California trail, thence across the Cascades to the Klamath River, Lower Klamath Lake and the scene of the Frémont massacre the previous April, then by way of Hot Creek, the lava fields, Lost River, Tule Lake, Goose Lake, Lassen Pass, Surprise Valley, Mud Lake, Boiling Springs, Black Rock Desert, Rabbit Hole Springs and Alkali Lake to the California road at the Great Bend of the Humboldt River.⁷⁹ Applegate says that Harris "spoke the Snake language fluently and was of great service to us on the plains" during this expedition.

An expedition to assist the starving emigrants on the Applegate road was made by Harris and others in December, 1846. South of the Calapooya Mountains the people were found "in bad shape—mostly all packing and some starving, some killed by Indians." Harris stopped on the Elk River to help the destitute families. The relief expedition was gone fifty days during very cold, stormy weather. "The public is doubtless aware of the humane object of our trip. It was to relieve our *fellow-beings* who were suffering almost beyond description . . . We succeeding in relieving many who must have perished."⁸⁰ In the next year the immigrants by the Applegate road came through in good order

⁷⁸ Cf. Joel Palmer, *Journal of Travels*, Cincinnati, 1847, p. 63; also W. A. Goulder, *Reminiscences*, Boise, 1909, pp. 124-33.

⁷⁹ *Oregon Spectator*, April 2, 1846; letter of Nathaniel Ford, *ibid*, July 9, 1846; letter of Moses Harris, *ibid*, Nov. 26, 1846, in answer to an editorial in *ibid*, Oct. 29, 1846; Lindsay Applegate, "Notes and Reminiscences," in [*Portland*] *West Shore*, Sept., 1877—June, 1878, reprinted in *Oregon Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, vol. 22, 1921, pp. 12-45.

⁸⁰ Thomas Holt, Journal, in *Oregon Spectator*, March 4, 1847. Thornton's denunciation of the Applegate road explorers whom he met at Fort Hall is criticized in Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, vol. 1, pp. 555, 562, 565-66. Cf. also *Trans. Oregon Pioneer Association*, 1878, p. 69.

while those by way of the Dalles suffered the usual hardships of that route.

Harris left the settlements in Oregon on the fifth of May, 1847, in company with seven men and twenty animals laden with packs of robes and skins for trading purposes. Late in June, at Pacific Springs, near South Pass, this party met the advance guard of the Mormon pioneers. According to the journals of Orson Pratt, Howard Eagan, Wilford Woodruff and William Clayton, Harris gave a discouraging account of the valley of the Great Salt Lake, sold them some goods and showed them a file of the *Oregon Spectator* and a copy of Sam Brannan's *California Star*.

Clayton gives Harris' description of the land which became the Mormon Canaan:

Mr. Harris says he is well acquainted with the Bear River valley and the region around the salt lake. From his description, which is very discouraging, we have little chance to hope for even a moderately good country anywhere in those regions. He speaks of the whole region as being sandy and destitute of timber and vegetation except the wild sage. He gives the most favorable account of a small region under the Bear River mountains called Cache Valley where they have practiced caching their robes, etc. to hide them from the Indians. He represents this as being a fine place to winter cattle . . . Mr. Harris has described a valley forty miles above the mouth of the Bear River, and thirty miles below the Bear Springs which might answer our purpose pretty well if the report is true.

Harris told Orson Pratt that he planned to remain and seek employment as a guide to some of the emigrant parties. He probably did stay a few weeks in the Rockies since it was his fortune to meet Commodore Stockton, who had left California on June 20, and to proceed with him to Missouri.⁸¹

It was said that he intended to return to Oregon, or more probably to California, the next spring, but fate had a longer journey in store for him. He was seized with the cholera and died on Sunday, May 6, 1849, at Independence, Missouri. Cholera, "the scourge of the country," was then making fearful havoc along the emigrant routes and was "carrying off large numbers of the Californians and citizens" at Independence.⁸²

⁸¹ *St. Louis Reveille*, Jan. 3, 1848; *Liberty Tribune*, Dec. 10, 1847.

⁸² *Warsaw Morning Visitor*, May 19, 1849; *Missouri Republican*, May 13, 1849, from the files of the Missouri Historical Society. In an early western story, *The Prairie Flower*, one of the characters, a trapper, guide and yarn spinner called "Black George," bears a considerable resemblance to Harris. Bancroft (*History of Oregon*, vol. 1, p. 515) indicates his belief that this character is Harris, but farther on in the same work (vol. 2, p. 691) the statement is made, probably by Mrs. Victor, that the individual represented was George W. Ebberts, the "Black Squire" of the mountains. Sydney W. Moss in his recollections (*Pioneer Times*, Bancroft Library, Pacific MS. no. 52) lays claim to the original version of the story, which he says was a true account of his own journey across the plains in 1842. Moss sent the manuscript east with Overton Johnson, who turned it over to Emerson

Clyman leaves a memorial to Harris in this verse, which though not intended as an epitaph might have been appropriate for one:

[On a slip of paper]

Here lies the bones of old Black Harris
who often traveled beyond the far west
and for the freedom of Equal rights
He crossed the snowy mountin Hights
was free and easy kind of soul
Especially with a Belly full.

Bennett. Bennett changed the names of the principal characters, and published the story at Cincinnati in 1849. (Cf. Wagner, *Plains and Rockies*, pp. 85-86.)

It seems that the author of *The Prairie Flower*, whoever he was, had been well initiated into the society of the mountains. Some of the choicest specimens of trappers' dialect in existence flow from the lips of "Black George." A reading of Moss's *Pioneer Times* would scarcely convince one that Moss could have produced literature of this kind. Suspicions that he did not write the story are strengthened by the title page of a copy of *The Prairie Flower*, in the Bancroft Library, on which the words "S. and A. Allen" are pencilled in place of the printed name of Emerson Bennett. Perhaps it should be added that there was a Samuel Allen in Oregon in 1847.

JAMES CLYMAN'S DIARIES AND MEMORANDA OF A JOURNEY THROUGH THE FAR WEST, 1844 to 1846

BOOK 1

[Cover]

May 1844

[Inside front cover]

Isaac Lightner

Independence

Mo

S. C. Owens

Independence

Mo

[The Oregon Trail, Independence to Little Blue River, May 14
to June 30]

1844 of May the 14th Left Independence & proceeded on to West
port Roads extremely bad owing to the Leate greate rains

15 at Westport morning dull slight rains

(Cr. to \$5.00 \$5.50

Lent Harris.....\$15.25 Cents

Wm Fallan⁸³ 2.00

about 10 left West port continues to rain all day passed the head
of Blue River came to camp at Elm Brook passed the methodist
mission and Several Shawnee Indian Formes in the course of the day
made 18 miles

16 It rained all night last night in one continued and rapid
Shower This morning the whole prairie covered in water Shoe mouth
deep no wood to be had except what we had hauled in waggons
Started throug the rain about 8 miles over a roling prairie covered nearly
knee deep in mud and water camped about 1/2 mile from timber
packed some up to camp on our mules it continued to rain all night
Slightly

16 [17] got up our teams and put to the road again made 9
miles to Black Jack creek amuddy desolate looking place about non
to day left the Sant a fee trace these are two of the longest roads that
are perhaps in the world the one to Sant Afee and the other to
oregon doubled teams nearly all the way Both teams Swamped
down and had to unload our team breakeing an axeltree

17 [18] about 9 oclock it begain to rain again it [rained] all
day so much that we could not finish our axeltr[ee] continued to rain
all night and our beds ware overflown in water nearly mid side deep

⁸³ Perhaps the trapper, William O. Fallon, who came to California in 1845 and
was one of the notorious "fourth relief" of the Donner party. Bancroft, however,
says he came to California from New Mexico in 1845.

19 Sunday a dismal rainy thick morning. all Brot to Stand about 11 A M after a Tremendeous Shower it Slacked up for the rest of the day got a new axel tree in and reloaded our waggon Saw & picked a considerable fine mess of ripe Strawberies

20 Thick and foggy the women & children are coming out again haveing been confined to the waggons for 2 days past went to a camp of 4 waggons in the fore noon returned and crossed the western Branch of Black Jack country high roling Prairie interspersed with numerous small groves of Timber Five wagons left encamped a $\frac{1}{2}$ mile Behind us Two men returned this morning after some cattle that had strayed away

afternoon doubled teams and moved 4 miles camped on a high ridge in a small grove of Brack oak 2 fine looking yong Ladies in camp

22 Laid at camp all day to wait for the falling of the waters and drying of the roads 2 teams that ware behind came up this evening

22 Moved ahead 8 miles over roling hilly Prairie 6 miles crossed dirty muddy Brook camped on the waukarusha Quite a fine little rivulet with a fine dry bank on the East Side Several Shawnee Indians pased our camp yestarday and to day a fine clear day with brisk south wind dug a kind of a road down the bank &c.

23 a fine clear night and a pleasant morning the small river Waukarusha (to) yet to ford with teams walked out through camp observed all sizes and ages Several fine intelegent young Ladies engaged one of them to make me a pair of Pantaloons picked some strawberries a handsome country fine land but timber shrubby 5 waggons came up to day 2 men from the mountains stoped an hour at our camp from some of the trading Stations on the arkansas a Lot of pack mules Likewise passed us on their way to Fort Larrimie

We have been passing through lands sofar belonging to the Shawnee nation or Tribe of Indians nearly all of which Tribe have Quit hunting and gone into a half civilized manner of living cultivating small Lots of ground in corn Beans Potatoes and grains and vegetables their country is almost intierly striped of all kinds of game but is fine and Productive in grains and Stock both horses and cattle Timber is scarce but finely watered in part the trail passes through The company of pack mules and ponies that passed to day are a part of Mr. Bissenette⁸⁴ and will [follow] 7 or 800 miles of our rout

24 It rained all night by day our teams ware moving to the river which we had been expecting [to] fall but which began to rise

⁸⁴ One of the traders at Fort Laramie.

again we let down by cords over a steep rock bluff through mud knee deep an[d] in the rain pouring in torrents me[n] women and children dripping in mud and water over Shoe mouth deep and I Thought I never saw more determined resolution even amongst men than most of the female part of our company exhibited The leaving of home of near and dear friend the war whoop and Scalping Knif The long dreary Journey the privations of a life in a Tent with all the horrors of flood and field and even the element seemed to combine to make us uncomfortable But still there was a determined resolution sufficient to overcome all obsicles with the utmost exertion we crssed over 20 waggons by about 10 o'clock when the waters became too deep to cross and in about an hour it rose so as to swim a horse it continued to rain in rapid Thunder Showers all day with a strong S.W. wind

25th It slackd raining about dusk and did not rain any during the night tho river rose 6 or 7 Feet during the night about 8 the sun made a (a) faint glimmering appearance all hands Buisy in contriving ways and means to cross the teams remaining on the oposite side We had a kind of an election which resulted in the chois of Col [Nathaniel] Ford for our cap^t or leader By a considerable of a majority all seem to enjoy good health not with standing our extremely disagreeable Situation and a Mr. [L.] Everhart who is taking a trip for his health swam his horse several times since [coming] here and is making rapid improvments in his health one verry ordinary conoe being all we have for a ferry boat our crossing, progresses verry slowly and the water continues still riseing

26 a fine pleasant night and a clear morning the Ladies passing from Tent to Tent Early our ferrying continues to progress Slowly Some young men got a hymn Book and sung a few familiar reformation camp meeting songs last night which had a peculiar Symphonic and feeling Effect in connection with the time and place. a call was made this morning for a regular organization

J Crissman [Joel Crisman] 8 [votes] head of our mess
S Crissman
J McKinley 1
S[amuel] Walker 5 2
K [Robert?] Walker 3
J. M. Barnette 4
J Clyman 5
B[enjamin] M. Robinson
L. Morin
T. M. Adams

A[ttey]. Neal 7
P[eter]. Neal 5
G[eorge] Neal
Alex Neal 6
Cal[vin] Neal 1
J [Robert?] Neal
L Everhart
Snooks⁸⁵ 6
J Hillhouse

The before Mentioned men 19 in number in 7 waggons formed in to one mess for mutual assistance in Traveling and encamcamping near to-geather about 2 oclock we got all our Teams waggons and Baggage

over & ascertained that there were 92 men present made some regulations to prepare for keeping of a night and day guard as we are now not more (the) [than] 2 days easy travel from the Kaw Indian village the first of the wild roving tribes that we meet with on our way this evening two waggons that were in the rear came up opposite side & we were told that 12 or 15 Teams are yet coming on it has been fine and clear & the evening pleasant the Ladies gave us a few hymns in the afternoon which had a pleasant melancholly affect

27 A great stir commenced early & a little after sun rise waggons began to roll out at 7 in morning we made 8 miles in an Northerly direction over a picturesque and rather hilly prairie The waukarusha that has given us so much trouble & consumed so much time is about 12 rods wide running from S.W. to N.E. & Entering the Kansas or Kaw river about 8 or 10 miles below our last encampment for the first time we have this evening encamped on ridge of prairie & in the form of a hollow square early in the afternoon it commenced raining again & rained in thunder showers all night

28 The earth completely covered in water at 7 got under way although it continued rain a thick fine rain 2 gents and myself started for the Kansas river with a view of examining the roads and the ferry proceeded on about 18 miles to a creek & found it very high and rapid being swollen by the last night's rains turned loose our animals to graze and consult remained about an hour saw a heavy shower coming up from S.W. Saddled our mules & after finding the creek was swimming, (and) started back for camp a tremendous shower came on before we fairly got saddled and in 10 minutes we were completely drenched with rain it continued to rain all the way to camp the roads being deep and heavy the teams were scattered about 2 miles in length along the open prairie ridge on which they were traveling each one pressing on to some shelter through mud and rain became discouraged one by one and stopped on the ground where they happened to be many without fire or cooked provision to nourish them after a very tedious & toilsome day's drive I arrived at my mess wet as water could make me and found them all sheltering themselves in the best way they could about the waggons they were fortunate enough however to have furnished themselves with a fair supply of wood & now commenced the tug of war for the rain again renewed its strength & fell in perfect sluices as though the windows of heaven had again been broken up and a second deluge had commenced intermingled with vivid flashes of Lightning and deep growling thunder which con-

⁸⁵ Perhaps the P. Snooks who was wounded in the Cascade fight during the Yakima war in 1856.

tinued until about dark when it slaked up for the night, and here let me say there was one young Lady which showed herself worthy of the bravest undaunted poioneer of [the] west for after having kneaded her dough she watched and nursed the fire and held an umblella over the fire and her skillit with the greatest composure for near 2 hours and baked bread enough to give us a verry plentiful supper and to her I offer my thanks of gratitude for our last nights repast Billitts of wood ox yokes Saddles and all kinds of matter now Became in requisition to raise our bodies above the water and we spent a verry uncomfortable night in all the forms of moisture short of swimming

29 Truged around through the mud and water Shoe mouth deep got a bite of Breakfast and put to the road again our whole distance yesterday being about 12 miles again made a scattering drive 6 miles to the Tunga Nunga the creek spoken of yesterday in the afternoon all the teams came up encamped on a fine dry Bluff on the S side had a clear night and fine

30 Morning rode over to the Kansas found it verry full and S. Bank overflown several teams crossed to day the day fine & fair saw a number of the Kaw Iindians a misrable poor dirty Lazy Looking Tribe and disgusting in the extreme To lazy to work and to cowardly to go to the boffaloe whare they frequently meet with their enemies get a few killed and return to dig roots Beg and starve 2 or 3 months then make another effort which may or may not be more successfull our ferrying goes on Slowly it being difficult to get to the boat on account of the low grounds being overflown⁸⁶

31 a fine clear night and a pleasant morning M^r Texes

⁸⁶ Buck, in his *History of Milwaukee*, quotes the following from the *Milwaukee Sentinel* of August 11, 1844. Col. Elisha Starr was the editor of that paper:

We received the following letter a few days since from Col. Clyman, who is on his way to Oregon Territory, with a company who intend to settle in that country. Col. C. was formerly a resident of this county, and will be remembered by many as a veteran, who has had almost as many hairbreadth escapes as the celebrated Col. Crockett, of whom he is not a bad representative.

Tonga Morga [Nunga] Creek, Four Miles West of Kaw Village)
May 30, 1844.)

Friend Starr:—We arrived here yesterday; thirty-nine wagons, about one hundred men, and about the same number of women and children, in all I have been but a few days in camp, and cannot give particulars, with twenty or thirty teams yet behind. Forty-one teams are north of the Kansas river, and ten teams three or four days ahead of us. You will perceive by this time that we muster about one hundred wagons, and from five to seven hundred souls, when we are fairly collected.

We have had almost one continued shower of rain since we left the settlements. We are commencing to cross the Kansas river today, which will occupy all our exertions for the next two or three days. We shall not all get collected in one company in less than eight or ten days. Our last and general meeting will take place on the highlands between the Kansas and Great Platte rivers, eighty or a hundred miles northwest from our present position. The traveling thus far has been the worst possible (to be possible,) at all prairie encampments, without wood, and wallowing in mud, swimming creeks and rivers. But all, thus far, have got

Smiths⁸⁷ mess leaving for the Ferry & Capt Ford followed our mess remain to give the women a chance for washing passed on to the Kansas about 16 waggons having passed over the river without much difficulty.

1844 June the 1^s Saturday

made 4 mils yesterday Encamped on the Bluff near the Ferry performed a singular and Farcicle operation of guarding our stock running loose on the Prairie & found them more scattered this morning than if we had let them roam at (at) large a warm morning with the appearance of rain went out early to get in our horseess could not find my horse and a mess mates mule both fine animals slept restlessly rose early

2 Started in search of my horse & comrades morins mule rode around our encampment several times and back on our trail 3 or 4 miles at last took the track down the course of the Kansas on an Iindian trail followed our anamals about 8 miles when they lef the trail and went in to a thicket whare our anamals had been tied [to] a couple of large trees and saw the bed whare one of the Kaws had Spread his couch near by and taken a happy and no doubt pleasant repose over his rascaly and ill gottin treasure after examination we followed on again over rocky bluffs smoothe prairies and Brushy thickits untill no doubt we ware discovered for our anamals had been put to the keen Jump and run 3 or 4 miles when caution again was taken and hard rocky Bluffs again taken untill we became discouraged and nearly lost orselves arived at 5 evening at camp

3 put to stand to know what measures to take to recover our Lost animals crossed over the river hired two Indians and made another Trial to find our animals went back to whare we left the Trail Last night followd it 5 or 6 miles to whare we came to the main waggon Trail about 15 miles East of our encamp 9 Teams having passed a few hours previous we could not follow any further Returnd to camp tired and dijected with fair prospect of making the remainder of our long Toilsome Journey to oregon on foot

along well, and without serious loss or accident. The ladies in particular have evinced an uncommon degree of fortitude and resignation under all hardships and privations incident to traveling in mud and water.

All right, go ahead, and no grumbling.

Yours respectfully,

JAMES CLYMAN.

⁸⁷ It is not strange that this gentleman was traveling under a pseudonym. He was an Albany bank officer who had absconded. He made a trip around the world, became a rich and prosperous merchant, and was finally exposed by an army officer who recognized him. He was driven to dissipation and ruin and returned to his family in the East. His real name was Egbert Olcott. Cf. S. A. Clarke in *Overland Monthly*, vol. 10, pp. 410-15.

and here let me remark that this is [the] third season that a considerable emigration has passed right through the Kaw village and crossed the Kansas at this place yet I have not heard that Major Cummings or any other agent or Interpreter has ever been here at the time they passed which is certainly a great dereliction of the duties of an agent. Last year I understand that the Emigrant[s] lost that never were returned 3 or 4 horses & 20 or thirty head of neat cattle and a considerable amount of other property and we have Lost 200 Dollars worth of horses mules and other property which might be mostly recovered if time would permit and we had an interpreter that would look to our interest but as it is we must submit without recourse. The Kaws are now starting on their summer hunt and our Stolen horses cannot be obtained until they return which will not be until some time about the first of August or later.

4th a Thick foggy morning 9 clear off fine & pleasant all hands still engaged getting our stock across the river which is beginning to fall. One of our Indians returned without finding our animals. Nine Teams came up on the opposite side of the river. I am inclined to think that there is a much better Route than the one we are taking. By crossing the Kansas at ferry on the Military road leading from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott and Taking the high lands between the Kansas and Wolf river still Keeping west after passing Wolf river between the Nimihaw and Kansas until you pass the heads of the Nimihaw you gain the main high land between the Kansas & Great Platt where instead of Swimming rivers you will have to shape your course so as to strike water once or twice a day and bear on to the Great Platt near the head of the Grand Island.

5th crossed over the river went 10 miles up the river to the village of the head chief a tall lean wrinkled faced Filthy looking man with a forehead indicating deceit Dissimulation and intrigue and more like a Beggarly scape gallows than a Chief but no doubt these fine Qualities are highly prized by the Kaw nation. After telling him through an interpreter that whites wanted nothing of the Kaws than a passage through their country the water they drank and the wood they cooked their victual with all other things that they injured or used they would pay for and that I took it very unkindly of him to allow his young men to steal our horses and cattle. He talked with great energy assuring me that if he could See his rascally scamps with our horses he would immediately bring them to us and assured us that in three days he thought we might expect to see our horses. I however put but little confidence in his asseverations. A clear warm day and a warm night.

6 Returned to camp awarm clar morning all waiting for the rear of our camp to cross the river about dusk in the evening Jo a kaw who speaks pretty fair English came up to our camp & told me that 2 young men had been down to the Shawnees and came back with three ponies Suspitions had rested on these two scamps for some days past that they had stolen our animals and now the thing was Explained

7 Three of us and two friendly Kaws started to overtake the two horse thieves who had followed a party that ware starting out on a Buffeloe hunt it commenced raining early & continued all day late in the afternoon after swiming two creeks & wadeing three more breast deep I arived at [the] village in the midst of a Tremendeous hail storm And found about 20 Drunken Indians in a dirt covered lodge half knee deep in water Judge of my feeling a rapid hail Storm out[side] a hog wallow within all in unison the Thunder Lightning & hail the schreems an yells within and my object to recover stolen property being instantly known all eyes ware directed on me a loud angry Quarrel commenced between my Friends and enemies and my situation was far from being envious for Knives ware soon drawn and one Flurrished over my head the indian that held it was soon grappled & a half dozen ware as soon wallowing in the mud on the ground floor of the Lodge

8 Returned to camp which had moved about 12 miles up the river did not reach the camp till after midnight in a tremendous thunder Shower lay down dripping with water and as soon as I Became warm fell asleep and slept soundly untill day light though the water raised in a perfect Spring in under us

9 Sundy

no guard last night and [rose?] two horses and two mules missing walked up the creek a little and saw the Moccosin tracks under a steep Bluff all explained the animals ware Stolen after a considerable search found whare they had swam the creek Capt Ford and 10 men went in persuit could not move camp on account of high water in the afternoon Capt Ford Discovered two indians on high points in the prairie on approaching them he found they were in possession of his lost animals and he brought them to camp the Kaws said that they found the mules & horses in possession of an Oto Indian whom they beat and whiped and took the stolen horses from him and ware returning to us with them when cap^t Ford first saw them but this story did not go down with many of us

10th it commenced raining about an hour before or 2 before daylight and rained all day without a moments cesation the creek on

which we are encamped bears the dignified name of Knife river and rose 15 feet during the day the [Kaws] that had Capt Fords Horses went away to day verry much disadised not getting as much pay as they expected Several of us tried to make them understand that we had sent to Fort Levenworth for an escort of (of) dragoons & hope it may have a good efect

11 It continued to rain all night and is still raining the prairie has become so soft that it will [not] bear the weight of a man in many places Several persons are becomeing discouraged on account of our slow progress and it is almost enough to discourage the stoutest and bravest amongst us I now see the water spreading on all the low grounds & if it was not for the strip of timber it [would] have the appearance of an extensive Lake

12 No guard last night it rained all night but not so rapid as to keep the creek up as it fell about 3 feet 8 oclock we saw a watry glance of the sun for about a minuit all camp regulations are lost & each individual seeking a dry Sheltered spot to stand or lie down on our Tents beds blankets clothing provision and every thing almost rotting and no prospect of drying them and even our cattle are Scarcely able to walk the muddy weather having given them the fouts. It still continues to rain moved camp a $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to escape the mud which resembled a brick yard on our old encampment without the least stretch of imagination

13 It rained all last night verry rapidly & the creek rose again 6 or 8 feet 10 A.M. we saw the sun & a general shout was raised through all the camp after 80 hours steady rain we saw the Kansas river from the Bluffs & it shews 8 or 10 miles wide the sun shines pale and watry with no fair prospects of clear weather

A great Dijection in camp as it is imposible to overcome natures obstacles & many are brooding over fine houses dry beds & pleasant Society all of which are scarce here on the bluffs of Knife river & the distance and circumstance allmost seem to forbid our ever regaining any of the comforts of civitization and verry little encouragemet can be given to the fearefull and Timerous

14th A thick foggy morning but Some prospect of Better weather sadly disappointed we barly saw the sun through thick foggy showers aand the day closed in without drying our clothes & provisions.

15 a dull Foggy morning without any pospect of clear weather a disaffected camp without unity or concert in any matter except Sleeping which is performed by the male part of the camp to the greatest perfection several complaining of the chollic

10 oclk Majior Richard Cummings arived on the oposite side of the

creek on his way home from running some lines between The Kaws & Pawnees the maijor is goverments agent for the Kaw & Several other tribes of Neighbouring Indians & we ware well pleased to see him so near us

16 Sunday

the clouds braking away with a prospect of fair weather to dry our Baggage one clear day the first we have seen for 8 drid all our Baggage and commenced making a raft to cross the creek the camp looks Quite cheerfull this evening and our prospects have a better appearance for Traveling

17 Commenced early to make preperations for crossing the creek about [?] it commenced hailing from the west but soon changed to rain one hour more of fair weather would have seen apart of us on the other side but such was not our fortune and when we will be able to leave the Bluff on which we are encamped the Lord in his prove-dence either of Mercy or anger only knows

At 2 P.M. the rain slaked up & all hands to work again we By active exertion crossed over 19 Teams and encamped on a miserably dirty muddy Bottom that had been overflown 6 or 8 feet deep only 24 Hours previous

18 Thunder & an apearence of more rain a warm sultry disagreeable morning & no better pospect of dry weather than there was a month since when the rains commenced against all expectation the day passed without rain and all hands moved out about 1 mile on the Prairie & the sun set clear for once at last

19 How Sadly are we frequently mistaken when we depend on our own calculations for the sun had hardly shot its last rays over the western horizon when a small Black cloud shewed itself in the S.W. and the grumbling thunder began to growl & in ten minuits a rapid thunder Shower was desending in torrents on us which however was not of long duration for it passd off to the S.E. & about dark gave us a Splended natural meteorick Exhibition the electrik fluid Sparkling and flashing in front & byond the dark heavy masses of fleecy cloud which shewed like frowning mountains Stupendeous rocks & deep chasms & dark raviens illuminated with dazzeling brileancy too bright & glancing for the eye to dwel on & might be truly be called the Sublime awful Rolled out early through the rain which continued untill 12 o'clock when the sun broke out had several views of the Kansas river which was overflown from Bluff to Bluff 8 or 10 miles wide made 10 miles encamped on a narrow ridge $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from timber a Bright clear evining and a fine view of extensive uneven Prairie pospect

20 A fine fair morning rolled out along a ridge Northwardly

on account of the back water from the Kansas made 5 miles and halted to look for a passage over the Black vermilion Several returned after some hours of fruitless search the Teamsters becoming tired of waiting took a S.W. Ridge made about 5 miles & encamped a good ford having been discovered on the best course we returned to camp the day having been clear & bright the highlands are becoming firm.

21 Some for Rafting near the mouth of the creek some for returning to the ford discovered and some for hunting another ford after about 4 hours search another ford was discovered and we rolled out to it Distant 3 miles and immediate set to work to prepare the banks (which are very steep and muddy) for crossing in about 2 hours we commenced crossing & more than half the teams passed over the river Jordan (or vermilion as it is called) and if Jordan more black & muddy than this stream it would hardly run, observed several marien shells in flint rock and some pieces of petrified wood (a fine clear day)

22 A clear night & a fine Beautifull morning yestardy Mr. Robinson Mr Morin & Mr [Isaac W.] Alderman Returned withour Sloten [stolen] animals which ware taken on the First of this month after Swimming Sawping and wadeing and enduring innumerable hardships almost Beyond discription we once more gladly hailed our messmates to camp They Likewise brot us some news From civilization The streams South and east being all overflown ennumerable damage Sweeping Fences Houses Barns & in fine distroying all kinds of Property on the intervalles so far as heard from And Likewise information from the Political world As it appears there to there has been a great Troubling & Striving of the eliments the mountain having at last brot forth J. K. Polk Cap^t Tyler & the invincible Henry Clay as candidates for the Presidency. go it Clay. Just whigs enough in camp to take the curse off, made 14 miles along a narrow Prairie ridge and found fine water in a little grove of Elms

23 Sunday

a Fine clear morning noticed a great many granite Boulders some of a Fine vermilion Tint very compact & handsome scattered on a limestone Strata At 10 A.M. Struck the oregon trace on Cannon Ball Creek greate Joy at finding the trail and a good ford Crossed over without delay or difficulty except the breaking of an axeltree which was repaired in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour made 12 miles and encamped on a small Brook with a Plentifull scarcity of wood (made 12 miles) the country very uneven and broken in an immense number and variety of conicle nolls all Beautyfully covered and clothed in grass But we found the ravine soft and deep & many Teams doubled over

24 Rolled out at sun rise and at 11 reached Burr oak creek a deep dirty stream about 10 rods wide all the Banks and bottoms having Been overflown found the date of M^r Gillhams [Cornelius Gilliam] company having crossed 4 days previous crossed over in 2 hours although we had to let down our wagons down a steep Slipery bank by hand to day struck our old trail made on our return from the mountains in 1827 when I had the honorable post of being pilot Some points look quite familiar although I never passed but once & that time nearly 17 years ago our evening camp in particular game is verry scarce but one deer having been killed made 14 miles

25th A thunder shower came on early & continued at entervals all night found Middle camp creek overflown and it still raining Rolled out at 1 oclock through the rain & went up the creek 2 or 3 miles to a shallow ford crossed over with out difficulty made 5 miles by the old trace & encamped on the Smoky fork or Blue fork (of Kansas) found two canoes left by those ahead

26 a dull Cloudy morning rolled up to the place of embarcation this stream is about 80 yards wide and has fine intervale and prairie lands based on a fine white Limestone but timber is rather scarce Here we had an awfull time in crossing our Stock the Botoms and [word omitted] being so soft from the over flowings of watter that we had to Litterly drag our animals several rods to swiming water and again from it and in all probabillity the everlasting hill never since the deluge experianaced such a superabundance of moisture particularly the immediate countery through which we have to pass got more than half our wagons over & cattle enough to drag our wagon to dry land about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant by hitching all to one wagon at a time

27 a thick foggy morning it rained yestarday which is so common that I neglected to mention it got all our camp over before night Mr Sublett & party arived on the oposite side Mr. Sublett's party consists of 20 men 11 of whom are Sick and traveling for health one of which died and was Buried this morning about 15 miles East of this Poor fellow Marshall by name his fair companion accompanied him from St Louis and tenderly watched over him to Indipendence whare thy seperated Kind companion her worst fears are realized her Husbands bones rest Quietly forever on the bluffs of oak creek whare no noise disturbs his rest but the carrol of summer wild birds and the nightly howl of the lonely wolf the day proved to be one unusualy fine

28th Left our encampment early which was in several respects the finest we have made consisting of a nice little little grove of Hackbery & elm timber a beautifull Spring of cool clear water runing past well

stored with goosberry shrubbery some of which we had for coffee Tea I cannot call it as we had none the rest was covered with an uneven ridge of Limestone rock on the east runs Blue river meandering through a grove of Hickory walnut oak and cottonwood timber capped with fine conical green mounds and ridges to South lies the wally of Blue river a fine prairie soil & handsome little Brooks passing through our route to day lay north westwardly over rather uneven Prairie ridge Between the main Blue & the west fork of the same made 16 miles & encamped on the east of the ridge

29 A Strong South wind all night with thunder Showers passing for once they missed us weather very warm & the road soft & heavy but fine Black rich soil Tried to Stand guard last night a good deal of grumbling & discontent amongst those that have horses & those that have none some not even wanting a camp guard our pilot Mr Harris^s. 22 years experience and advice is perfectly useless in this age of improvement when human intellect not only strides but actually jumps & flies into conclusions Traveled 16 miles over uneven prairie & circuitous crooked road Some miles might be saved and a better track by following the main ridge 3 or 4 miles South of the wagon trail crossed rock Creek late and encamped on the W. side [of] it a rapid shower of rain fell in the afternoon & 4 or 5 Teams came up so late as not to cross the creek raised and at dark was swimming another heavy shower fell at day light (Sunday

30th The creek still rising and very rapid this creek is branch of Little Blue or west fork of Blue river & affords some useful Timber fine grass & good soil a very warm day almost to suffocation The trace we have been traveling follows near the dividing ridge between the main Blue & the west fork and is the highest land in the country one or two teams that had been 2 days behind came up to day Laid still to day to await the falling of the creek that all the teams might get to gather our camp is on rather a sandy soil the first we have seen on upland since we passed the Waukarusha

[MEMBERS OF THE TRAIN IN ACCOUNT WITH CLYMAN]

M. [M.] Warnbaugh [Warnbaugh] ⁸⁸	\$2.50
J. D. Perkey ⁸⁹	2.50
[Samuel and William] Packwoods [Packwood] ⁹⁰	6.00

⁸⁸ Came to California in 1846. Bancroft spells the name Warnsbough and Wambough. I take the above spelling from a letter of his in the *Oregon Spectator*, April 30, 1846, in which he announces to his creditors that he is about to leave for the "Spanish country" to "work in the redwoods."

⁸⁹ Not mentioned in the list of 1844 emigrants in the *Trans. Ore. Pioneer Assoc.* 1876, pp. 40-42.

⁹⁰ William Packwood moved into the Puget Sound country in 1847, settled on the Nisqually River, and is said to have been "the first *bona fide* American settler north of Olympia." He was a member of the constitutional convention in 1857.

Doty [N. R. Dougherty?]	2.50
Gillespie ⁹¹	2.50
Priest	2.50
[John R. and John H. P.] Jackson ⁹² & Co.	3.50
[Henry] Williamson ⁹³	2.50
[James] Hunt	2.50
W[illiam] Smith	10.00
Howard ⁸⁹	1.50
[Isaac N.] Gilbert ⁹⁴	2.50
Blakesly [Blakely] ⁹⁵	2.50
N[orris] Humphrey	1.00
Boyd ⁸⁹	1.00
J. L. Mulkey	3.50
N[athaniel] Ford ⁹⁶	11.00
Alf. Devenport ⁸⁹	2.50
Rolin ⁸⁹	5.00
Corde ⁸⁹	4.00
[James] Harper	1.50
W. L. Black ⁸⁹	2.50
Eli Perkins ⁸⁹	3.50
Joel Perkins ⁹⁷	2.50
John Perkins	3.50
James Johnson ⁹⁸	3.50
Daniel Johnson	3.50
R[uel] Olas [Owless]	3.50
P[oe] Williams	2.50
Wm Clark ⁸⁹	2.50
B[arton B.] Lee ⁹⁹	3.50
J[ames] Welch ¹⁰⁰	3.50
M. R. Perin ⁸⁹	2.50
Wm Weer	2.50
Noyes Smith	2.50
Steebens	3.50
Joel Chrisman [Crisman] ¹⁰¹	3.50
[Isaac W.] Alderman ⁹³	2.50
Neals. & Co.	5.00
Barnett	2.00
Evans ⁸⁹	3 50

⁹¹ Perhaps the John Gillespie killed by Indians on the Rogue River, Oct., 1855.

⁹² John R. Jackson was one of the first settlers in the Puget Sound country. John H. P. may have been the Jackson who went to California with the Stephens-Murphy party.

⁹³ Williamson and Alderman attempted to squat on Hudson Bay Company territory within a half-mile of Fort Vancouver. The controversy over their rights became a famous one involving a practical interpretation of British-American joint occupancy. Williamson is said to have come to California during the gold rush. Alderman was murdered at Fort Sutter in 1848.

⁹⁴ Made first plat of the town of Salem, Oregon. He is probably the same Gilbert to whom Clyman entrusted the letters for Spaulding and Whitman.

⁹⁵ Mentioned as a captain in the war with the Rogue River Indians in 1856.

⁹⁶ Elected Supreme Judge at Champoeg convention, April 1845; declined and Burnett succeeded him; elected county treasurer June, 1847; state senator, 1866-68; held other offices; died in Dixie Polk County, Oregon, Jan. 9, 1870.

⁹⁷ There were two of these, father and son, one founded the town of Lafayette, Oregon, in the early '50's.

⁹⁸ Brought the first flax-seed to Oregon. Homespun linen was manufactured from the crop in 1845.

⁹⁹ A member of the Oregon legislature in 1845. Came to California during the gold rush.

¹⁰⁰ Located a claim at "Shively's Astoria," in 1846.

¹⁰¹ The head of Clyman's mess. He was a Virginian, and died in Yamhill County, Oregon, in 1875.

Mr.	2 50
McMahan	1 00
Big Kaw ⁸⁹ [the interpreter?]	2 00
Goff ¹⁰²	2 50

June the 25th 1844

Expences incurred in getting lost Horses

J Clyman paid Chief	\$2 50
Young Indian	2 50
Ferriage	2 00
	<hr/>
	7 00
B[enjamin] M. Robinson paid	
Form Clyman	\$5.00
Own Cash	3 12 ½
Morin "	2 00
Clyman again	1 25
	<hr/>
	11.50
L Morin ⁸⁹ paid	
on various occasions	11.75
	<hr/>
	30.25

¹⁰² There were at least three Goffs with the 1844 train, David, Samuel and Marion. David guided the J. Quinn Thornton party over the Applegate road in 1846.

BOOK 2

[Cover]

July 1, 1844

[*Little Blue River to Red Buttes near the mouth of the Sweetwater,
July 1 to August 14*]

Oregon Emigrants Camp

Rock creek July the 1st 1844

The above named rock creek seems to be almost arbitrary there being but one rock seen & that one a loose boulder but Lying right in the middle of the ford the sun rose nearly clear while the grumbling thunder was heard to the South the road very heavy and several wagons stuck in the low grounds & raviens small groves of Timber seen either to the right or left some sand Shews itself in the trail to day which is hailed with delight as being our Saviour from mud in which we have ate drank Traveled slept and breathed continually ever since we left the settlements & about 2 weeks previous made 13 miles & encamped on dry sandy ridge near Cotton creek which runs S. Westwardly into the west fork or little blue

2 A thick foggy morning walked about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile back on the trail to see a mountain of Petrifications this mound is 150 or 200 feet above the level of the small streams passing to the south of it & is formed [of] grey lime rock near the top which rock is intirely composed of shells & other manrine matter greate portions of it is broken up verry fine near the surface every fragment of which shews a shell of various sices and shapes & at least a dozen differant kinds another Shower of rain fell this morning rode out saw deep ravine washed out of marly lime stone about 8 feet deep which was intirely composed of Shells in a solid compact form remained in camp to day on account of high water the afternoon clear & fine

3 Foggy cool with an East wind Cottonwood creek fell four or five feet Last night many of the small Brooks in the Neighbourhood completely choked up with slides of earth from the contiguous Bluff the Bluffs & banks formed of round wased gravel & Shell rock Based on a strong clay bed 10 A.M. a Shower of rain Turned out to Bridg the creek but returned to await its falling Mr. Subletts again came up having buried one more of his invalids Mr. Ketchup by name three days since at his camp called by him Ketchums grave 10 miles West of Blue river Mr Ketchum was [a] yong man his Brother came with him and attended him to his grave in this greate wilderness of Prairie which streches in all most all directions beyond the field of vision

4th of July the sun rose in pale misty magesty and was saluted by Several guns from thoes owt on the morning watch Soon after the Stars & Stripes floated in the Breeze the american Jubilee was but little further noticed than that the star Spangled Banner floated from Esq^r Rolands¹⁰³ waggon throughout the day crossed cotton wood and left Fossil Bluffs with all their once numerous animated family and made 12 miles crossed Sandy a Broad Shallow Stream with sand bars and Islands running nearly S. W. into west fork or little Blue our rout to day was near the ridge dividing Cottonwood and West fork and was dryer and firmer than any 12 miles previously traveled over allthough the rains have been frequent and rapid

5th A verry warm Night & a warm morning the Musketoos troublesome Several persons complaining of the Rhumatism & Dyentery it thundred and Lightned all night allthough it did not rain made 14 miles over uneven Prairie crossed 4 shallow sandy Brooks all Tributary^s of west fork & encamped on the last mentioned stream which stream is about 40 yards wide and runs rapidly over a Sandy bed course From N W. to S E. large intervalles as much as 3 miles wide no timber except cottonwood and willows The wind from the S & air extremely warm at about 5 P.M. the wind suddenly shifted to the N & it instantly became cool enough to want our coats saw severall antelope to day & for the first [time] & some of the men killed one of them

6th A fine cool morning the wind from North for the first time since we left the Settlement a cool N.E. wind all day made 17 miles up the W. Fork mostly on the interval encamped on a low bottom a Tremendious thunder shower came up before sundown which lasted untill 9 oclock two or 3 dozen of fine catfish was caught & in fact all the tributaries of the Kansas seem well stored with that Species of fish and have been easily taken when ever the water has been low enough to permit us to approach the main Banks of the streams which however has been seldom Mr Subletts party passed us to day and we are now in the rear of all the different parties traveling over the western praries passed some fine Bottom lands to day but little timber and that not valuable the wolves howled vehemently around us last night

7th Sunday the creek bank full this morning wind N.E. a thick drizzely morning the road laid out from the creek at the heads of the ravines about 12 The sun broke through the misty clouds & we stoped to water & graze on the reshes which have been plenty in

¹⁰³ Perhaps Levi L. Rowland, later Superintendent of Public Instruction in Oregon.

patches for several days horses & cattle feed on them voraciously 2 miles Brod us up to Mr Sublett party of invalids whane they had Just finished intering Mr Browning who left this troublesome world last night at 11 oClock the season has been the worst posible for Sick persons generally allthough the 3 or 4 consumptives travelling with us are mending slowly made 16 miles to day the afternoon near the creek which has diminished since we first came on its banks saw some Beaver cutting for the first observed the earth is becoming much firmer notwithstanding the rains.

8th Another Foggy morning we are beginning to camp in Tolerable order running the wagons on a level piece of ground and forming a Square round or oblong Krale the tents Pitched on the outside the fires still on the outside of the tents and the guard outside of all the horses & other valuables in the Koral a little afternoon passed the great Pawnee Lodge trail leading South came near Splitting camp there being Several trails and as many nominal pilots but all but one wagon came up to camp in the evening the Bluffs and ravines shew a geat flood at some time more vilent than any I ever observed in the states made 18 miles and encamped on a brook Tributary to the West fork nothing but willows for fire wood But we are told that we need not expect any better verry soon our course to day South of West

9 It thundred & Ligtnd all night & Several Showers of rain fell during the night the morning fair several patches of Short Buffaloe grass made its appearance about our camp made 10 miles N.W. over deep cut ravines in a loose soft clay intermixed with fine sand encamped on the bluffs of a small Brook Lying deep below the surrounding level of the country wood and water scarce & difficult to approach Several Teams remained at last encampment to await the appearance of a young emigrant who came on & overtook us at 5 oclock P.M. in riding this forenoon a Short distance south of the trail we fell in a deep vally amid the bare clay Bluffs which realized allmost all the fabled scent of the much Fabled Spice groves [of] arabia or India for more than 2 miles the odours of the wild rose & many other oderiferous herbs scented the whole atmosphere But the groves ware wanting nothing but gnarled cotton woods ware seen

10 A Light Shower of rain fell about Sun rise roled out across the devide between the head of Kansas & the great Platt and from the eye I should Judge that the main platte is as high or higher than the Kansas near our last nights encampment a narrow row of low sand hills running paralel with and not more than 6 or 8 miles from the platte being the only deviding ridge. all the water South of the sand hills

runing into the Kansas and none at all runnin into the platte this last named stream being the most muddy & in fact a grate deal more muddy than the Missourie itself the father of mud made 17 miles & encamped on the Platt near the middle of the grand Isleand the country as far as the eye can reach is as level as a pond except the low sand hills before mentioned

11th A cool Pleasant morning no wood but a few dry willows and Quite small made 18 miles up the south side of the River over a level Prarie no timber except a few cotton wood Trees & them all confined to the Islands in the river which are numerous but generally small the Prairie ponds are wellls[t]ored with wild ducks [these] with a few antelope constuite all the game yet seen & but feew of them precured a rapid shower of rain about sun down This river Platt has a channel not much less than three miles wide and the intervale from Bluff to Bluff as much as 12 miles wide the bank from 2 to 4 feet high above the water whare it is 4 feet high it is remarkable dry and hard formed of a fine pale tenacious clay and fine dead sand remarkabel hard and smoothe

12th A clear morning and a fine day but verry warm the same Level country the want of wood and water except the river and the long grass on the lowlands made 20 miles and encamped near some low willow Islands from which we obtained dry willows sufficiant to make fire for the night Several antelope ware killed to day and a number of wild ducks seen— had a fair view of our camp traveling as seen from the Bluffs about a mile distant they made Quite a picturesque [appearance] First came a few stragling foot & horse men ahead & on the left flank the right being on the river next a thick squad of horsmen in front followed by a long string of white looking wagon covers flanked with gentlemen & Ladies occasionally in the rear a long string of Loose cattle horses and mules the tout assemble being rather uneque

13 A Fair day started early & made about 20 miles over a level Planies & a heard smoothe road To day the sand hill which have lain to our left disappeared and ware succeeded by dry clay Bluff cut into deep narrow ravenis which do not reach far back into the (the) country as no streame that brings any running water has yet been seen the high level country South of the ravines are Beautifull Beyond discription handsomely roling and thickly set with fine Buffalo grass and Blue stem almost as soft as a bed and luxuriously covered with wild sun flowers and several other speces of yallow Blossoms which are now in full Bloom and scent the air to a considerable distance with a verry fine perfume as plasant as a flower garden

Sunday

14th It rained a light Shower last night & a thick cloudy morning Mr Hinman¹⁰⁴ who [went] south into the Bluffs to shoot antelope did not return turned [out the] men this morning to hunt for him no place in the world looks more lonesome and discouraging than the wide Prairies of this region neither tree bush shrub rock nor water to cherish or shelter him and such a perfect sameness with a alusive ridge all around you meeting the Horizon in all directions you Suppose your course to lie over some one of those horizontal ridges when after several hours anxious fatigue you suppose you are about to ascend the highest pinnacle and some Known Land mark what is your disappointment to find ridge rise beyond ridge to the utmost extent of human vision

15 Rol^d. out unusually early found the road quite sloppy The weather close and warm and the mosquitoes thicker than I ever saw in any place to continue for a whole day as they (as they) did here until dark when they eased off & we had a fair nights rest the course of the river nearly due west [down] the valley [to] the extensive level plain Timber still more scarce and for miles nothing seen but now and then a Junt of shrubby Cottonwood or a dwarf willow made 20 miles recent Tracks of Buffalo seen in Quantities but the animal himself Kept out of Sight rode out south onto the Bluffs and saw an undiscribleable country of hills Bluffs and deep cut ravines through a pale yellow clay soil some of which are 100 feet perpendicular the great reservoirs of mud which lie here in reserve for the next rain

16 A clear morning all though it thundred and Lighned in all directions Throughout the night all the companis of Oregon Emigrants mountaineers & californians &c &c ahead of us had had buffalo for several days & being anxious my self to get amess I laid my course S.W. over the cut Bluffs nearly perpendicular and passed main rang[e] the country became more regular and level found the Buffalo in great Quantities Killed one verry fine one loaded my mule and started for camp had hard riding to pass the cut Bluffs & obtain the open plain through which the river passes before sundown But here commenced our Toils the camp having made 18 miles at 12 of which we had to ride after night the mosquitoes with uncommon Blood thirsty appetite commenced & were Litterly so thick that with all our exertions we could hardly breath

¹⁰⁴ Alanson Hinman's reminiscences were published in the *Oregon Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, vol. 2, 1901. He traveled in Ford's party until it reached the present site of Baker City, when under the guidance of Black Harris he went to the Whitman mission at Waiilatpu for supplies. Later he entered Whitman's employ and was put in charge of the mission station at The Dalles.

17 La[s]t night we passed Mr Gilhams company & they repassed us again in this morning we have now arrived at the dry & thirsty clay soil which is always hard or if soft melts & runs with the water so thick that you can not see a particle of the whitest matter the $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch below its surface Made 12 miles & passed the Junction of the S & N Branchs of Platte which Junction is in a very low wet country & only a few inches above the surface of the water Several Hunters were out to day all returned Bro't Quantities of meat some very fine & all good I am sorry to say that I was mistaken about the Hunters all returning 4 men did not return and great anxiety is [felt] on account of them 3 with families & 2 of the women driving the Teams for 2 days past arrived at our supposed ford and making preparations to cross over

18 It rained a light shower last night after which the (the) wind changed to the N. & we had a fine cool night & a pleasant fair morning. Cooked our Supper last night with Buffaloe dung called chips in a modest way Such an article as wood (being) not being found 18 [miles]

Crossed the S. Fork of the Platte river without the least difficulty over a loose sandy shallow ford and encamped on the smooth level Prairie about 2 miles from our last nights encampment the bluffs in the contiguous country in many places shew a fine loose limestone which gives it a white appearance at a distance Soil dry and hard bearing the fine Buffaloe grass but no timber had a pleasant cool day for July the [valley] narrowed down to about 4 or 5 miles in width but level as heretofore

19 A cool clear morning all it thundered and lightened in several Directions last night our 4 lost hunters returned after wandering 3 days & 2 nights over the boundless Prairies and although the summer is far advanced our prospects wore a better face for crossing the mountains before winter made 5 miles and encamped on account of one of the Ladies being to sick to travel Rode out on the hills dividing the N. & S. Forks (which in appearance are nearly the same volume of water) Found the ridges dry & hard composed mostly of rounded granite gravel overlaid with strata of soft marly Limestone several male Buffaloe were seen from camp and one large herd containing several hundreds on the opposite Side of the river nothing in the character of a spring or Brook of running water has been seen since we came on the Platte

20 A Beautiful (clear) clear cool morning the finest we have yet seen a light west wind and clear atmosphere immense herds of Buffalo seen from the hills near camp on the plains Beyond the river

4 days since we overtook Mr Gilhams company of Oregon Emigrants & yesterday an arrangement was entered into for the traveling in the neare vicinity of each other & encamping no further apart than necessary for the good of our stock so that our entire company makes 96 Teams wagons & occupies with loose stock & all more than two miles of tolerable close column 16 [miles]

no preceveable alteration in soil or river or apeareance of country except the uplands are dryer & harder & on the Bottoms a fair appeareance of salt mixed with several other mineral substances

Sunday

21 A Slight Shower of rain fell about sundown yestarday evening & several others during the night a clear morning cole & pleasant made 14 miles up the N. Side of the S. Fork of Platte over dry Prairie intervale as fine a road as any in the union or even the world great Quntitees of Buffaloe seen a few miles from the trail but verry few imediately on the rout owing to several small companies of malcontents going ahead and driveing them away But our Hunters have been able to keep our camp well supplied with the finest kind all Ladies Gentleme[n] Children and all with the greatest uninimity agree that this is the finest richest sweetest living of any they have ever experienced and all hope that they may last far long & broad without stint or diminution

22 a warm evening last and a warm morning this the mosquitoes verry troublesome the first time we have been much troubled in camp allthough they cover a single individual horse and all in a few minuits of evenings & mornings for the last 10 days if he happen to be out alone Quantities of Buffalo in sight all day to day made 7 miles to the point whare we leave the S. Fork & cross over the ridge to the N. Fork a verry warm day without scarcely a breath of air to keep down the flies & Moketoos country the same except that their has been a Tremendious Shower rain not long since which has flooded all the ravines & given life & vigor to all Fly & Moketoe tribe & the warm weather has given them keen appetites.

23 Contrary to all the k[n]own rules of Traveling in this country a number of horses & mules run loose last night & Likewise acording to a well known Phraze 15 or 20 came up missing this morning a fine cool day for crossing the interminable Prairies rolled out early nearly a north course found by good luck and unexpectedly several ponds of water about noon Likewise passed an extensive prairie dog village containing 3 or 400 acres of Land thickly settled with an active population living remote forom every thing but grass & weeds which constitutes their entire subsistance made 22 miles & encamped at

dark on (on) the South bank of the N Fork in excelent grazing which is verry extensive the intervalles being 6 or 8 miles wide not a stick of Standing timber in sight in any direction The Bluff down the river formed of Lime stone

24 The coolest morning we have experianced with a brisk N wind all plesan & animated on account of our late good roads & rapid traviling did not travel to day an odd Butle of washing shaveing cleaning & repairing it being the first since the 4th when we left Fossil Bluffs to the east risis steep Limes[t]one cliffs all most perpendicular near 100 feet high worn into all manner of Shapes by the action of the wind This stream is a Counterpart of Stream we left at our last encampment Except that it is not so muddy being more than a mile in width generally shallow & running rapidly over loose floating sand no place more than 5 feet deep Quantities of Saline Substances making their appearance on the surface in Evenings of clear days the opposite side of the river shew high rounded sand hills

25th Fair with a light east wind and plesanly cool moved of at an Early hour Singular as it may seem this Stream like the last has no tributarys falling into it from either side the Loup or wolf fork falling in below drains all the immense Sand plains N. to the Shianne which is the first stream nothe that takes its waters from the highlands or mountains made about 18 miles partly loose Sand & partly a Tenacious light coloured clay verry fine & close & in places white as pipe clay the Limestone ledge nearly dissap[ear]ed Toward evening and was succeeded with clay and Sand bluffs but not near so high in the evening passed the Broad channel of a brook with a little shallow water rippling over the sand the first water we have seen running into the Main Platt or its Branches since we struck that river no Buffalo seen on the N Fork

26 A light shower of rain fell about dusk last night a clear warm morning Pased one mud hole the first on the Platte made 17 miles over the usual level Prairie one or 2 Shrubby hackberry trees seen through the day and passed some scattering clumps of pine to the South of our track theat at the distance shew rough uneven and rocky the Bluffs shew close to the water on the oposite side of the river in many places the day clar and warm throughout and the evening Remarkably light and pleasant with a bright moon the (the) chimny rock was said to be visable but I did not see it allthough I watched close No Buffaloe seen since we left the S Fork

27th A clear cool morning the Ladies pleasant animated and in fine Spirits which make a fine contrer part to the morning Early we came in sight of the noted chimney rock at the supposed distance of 30

miles it rises perpendicular and alone and looked like an old dry stub not larger in appearance than your finger 4 or 5 miles from our noon-ing raises a bank of clay & rock having all the appearance of some old castle of circular shape the spire having been Blown down the main walls and dome roof in a good state of preservation and still shewing the even range work of rubble rock of which the structure was formed made 20 miles over the level intirmenable Prairie But not so tiresome as their was Quite a variety in sight the chimney rock changed its appearance & Shewed like a large conicle fort with a Tremendeous large & high flag staff & top taken off with out towers and (&) various fixtures of defence

28 Sunday Fine and dry not a drop of dew fell last night which circumstance is not uncommon in the region of country we are now approaching all our sick of old cronic disorder begin to ware a healthy appearance & active elastick movement nooned opposite the chimny rock Scotts Bluffs in full view ahead on the whole the view in all directions Singular and Picturesque immense level plains east the river a mile wide meandering along but your eye can not tell at a short distance which way the water runs the chimny rock with rugged Bluff from which it has sometime or other been parted south Scotts Bluffs like a walled and fortified city with immense out works west a rugged chain of Spersely pine timbred hill in the back ground the river a broad vally & a distant chain of Barren hills to the North made 22 miles

29 My Page being entirely full yestarday I had not room to say That A light shower of rain fell in the afternoon which collected & commenced falling not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile ahead of our camp Keen claps of thunder with a profusion of Electrick fluid playin in all directions in a dry clear sky set the dry grass on fire in several places in sight of our traveling caravan which was soon Extinguished by the rain Just mentioned Left the River and struck S. of W. 14 miles and encamped in the midtst of Scotts blufs By a cool spring in a romantic & picturesque vally surrounded except to the E. by high & almost impassably steep clay cliffs of all immaginary shapes & forms supped on a most dlecious piece of venison from the loin of a fat Black tailed Buck and I must not omit to mention that I took my rifle and (and) walked out in the deep ravin to guard a Beautifull covey of young Ladies & misses while they gathered wild currants & choke chirries which grow in great perfusion in this region and of the finerst kind

30 Roled out over the last ridge of Scotts Bluffs which is a ridge or connetion of highland commencing on the river & running Southwardly as far as visably rising in many places from 600 to 1000 feet high

formed of clay & a verry fine dead sand & occasionally a thin layer of Soft Limestone which last mentioned layers protects the Softer parts from the ravages of Storms of wind & rain The whole range appears to have been once the common level of the country but owing to solible Qualities of the earth the main Bulk now forming the low grounds have been carried away with the water which operation is still in active opperation these hills are finely stored with game Such as Black tailed deer antelope mountain Sheep & some times Buffaloe Elk & grisled Bear I must not omit to mention a singularity on a vally we pased yestarday which was covered in all parts with Quantities of dry logs & wood the only reasonable conjecture with me was that the vally some 10 or 12 miles in [l]ength & 8 or 10 wide has no channel for the discharge of the water from the surrounding hills [which] occasionally in winter become deeply frozen considerable snow falling which goes off with a sudden thaw all the mountain torrents come rapidly down charged with drift the water filling the wally diposits its drift on the Shores & Islans of the newly formed lake which soon finds a passage through the sandy soil on which it rests we had a destinct & clear but distant view of the Black hills from the hights this morning made 14 miles & encamped on the river crossed horse creek about noon

31 A fine clear cool morning a dry camp clear cool water and fine grazing the moon Shone clear as day allmost during the whole nigt about one third of our company remaind to recruit their lame Stock the Prairies ware on fire in Several directions last night and all the uplands look dry and parched made 14 miles over dry & verry dusty road We have been following A recent lodge Trail of moveing Indians for some days But have not been able to overtake them several persons went ahead to day to await us at the fort supposed to not be more than 20 or 30 miles considerable Quantities of cottonwood made it[s] appearance on Bottoms & islands to day as Likewise drift pine along the Shores Several flocks of wild [fowl] seen to day on the dry bars of the river the mountains do not change their appearance

Thursday the 1st of August Dry clear warm day cool Beautifully fine nights with Scarcely any dew or moisture to dampen a blanket of those that sleep out in the open air Soil a fine whiteish clay mixed with sand usually verry fine but sometimes moderately coarse about 4 oclock in the afternoon we hove in sight of the white Battlments of Fort Larrimie and Fort Platte whose white walls surrounded by a few Sioux Indian Lodges shewed us that Human life was not extinct this being the first we have seen since we left the Kaws the various Emigrants Excepted crossed the Larrimie river a clear fine Streean about

80 yards wide only about half of the channel filled with water 2 feet deep Several persons getting scant of Flour Some to be had here (at) Superfine at 40 dollars a barrel Spannish at 30

2nd Clear cool nights & mornings verry warm days Remained in camp to day trading and waiting for Blacksmith and other repairs went down to the fort after writeing to my Friend Starr of the Milwaukee Sentinell and found no prospect of his recieving my communication verry soon but I left the letter hoping that he m[a]y recieve it Soon¹⁰⁵ I tried to trade some but found even the products of the country verry high I purchased a dressed deer skin for 2.50 cents and returned to camp satisfied that money was allmost useless while all kinds of grocerys & Liquors ware exorbitantly high for instance sugar 1.50 cents per pint or cupfull and other things in proportion Flour Superfine 1.00 dollars per pint or 40 dollars per Barrel Spannish 30 no dried Buffaloe meat could be had at any price so our stores of provision did not increase

3 Roled out over the parched hills and soon lost singht of the white washed mud walls of Fort Larrimie & her twin Sister fort Piearre made 12 miles over the dry parched hills which make a verry Singular appearance dotted all over with Shrubby Junts of dark looking Pine and cedars rootted in the white dry weather worn Lime rock which in many places shews like chalk banks & appears to be formed of Strong white marly clay dried by the sun and formed into rough Solid masses of rock without much form or regular Stratification and affording but feew Springs and no brooks as the water rises and Sinks occasionally along their gravelly beds encamped by one of those Springs which is a fine Strong rapid Spring but disappears in less than $\frac{1}{2}$ mile amongst hight white rocky cliffs which Surround us in all directions

4 Sunday it thundred and Lightned consideraby about dusk & rained a few drops but the sun rose in beautfull majesty over her parched cliffs this morning as it rains but little in this region Made 8 miles over the same Kind of dry hard thirsty country as yestarday and encamped on the dry sand barr of Sandy creek a little rill of warm muddy mean tasted water was all that dignified this broad channel of more than 100 yards broad crossed over the Bluffs & hills with our guns after camping to the river which here runs through a deep cut channel of Solid Lime stone more than 1000 feet deep 7 or 800 of which is perpendicular and not more at the top than 3000 feet wide coming up from the south with allmost level Prarie I neglected to mention that the Junction of Platte & Larrimie is immediately below the back hills

¹⁰⁵ This letter has not been found in the Milwaukee papers.

Both issuing from deep cut rocks a Short distance above through which they pass for more than 40 miles with a few intervening small vallies or open spaces

5 Shortly after dark their came on a thunder Shower with such a Squall of wind that almost all our Tents were fluttering on the ground in a moment the large cold drops of rain pelting us furiously all over & not even sparing the delicate Ladies & small children which ran helter skelter in all directions seeking for shelter from the storm which was of Short duration Passed up our Shallow stream west & soon came to a beautiful running brook with a fine interval well clothed with timber & much the handsomest place we have yet seen well clothed with green vegetation & is one of the green spots so sldom seen in this arid scorched region but this beautiful vally did not last long for after passing about 6 miles up we left it & turned up north along a dry sandy bed of what is sometimes a brook and ascended up it to its extreme eastern head where we ascended a beautiful smooth rolling ridge covered with scattering pines from which we had the finest view which can be had in this romantick country the immediate country dry & beautifully smooth & rolling into Knobbs to the south a distant & extensive view of apparently smooth level prairie turning your head to S. W. & W. an extensive view of the roughest & most ragged mountain in all this rough region mellowed down by the distance into smooth sharp pinecles with others rising in the back ground to a great height turning to the north a large uneven vally makes its appearance filled with finely rounded ridges & butes intermingled with vallies to the utmost reach of vision turning to the East is perhaps the most singular of all you have an extensive view of the great Kenyon Through which the river passes and in the distance is a crowded view of rounded butes & would resemble the largest assemblage of Arabian lodges that ever encamped together and of nearly all the shades of colour from red to white & occasionally black being covered with the tufted pine and cedar all handsomely exhibited in light & shade by a clear afternoon Sun made 20 miles the last 4 or 5 rather rough & heavy on account of the deep sand at our camp on horse shoe creek we over took all the different companies of emigrants except Hitchcocks¹⁰⁶ and encamped in a Jumbled mass of Stock tents people &c &c

6 Turned out early from our camp on Wagon Hound creek* and had Some Steep pitches to raise before we got clear of the creek then

¹⁰⁶ Hitchcock was one of the leaders of the Stephens-Murphy party, bound for California. Bancroft says he had possibly been a member of the Walker party in 1833.

*In the MS. a line is drawn through the words *Wagon Hound creek*.

some fine rolling country was passed with several brooks of clear water several miles of desert brot us into the vally of wagon hound creek where we encamped for the night having made 15 miles in this vally we saw Quantities of Buffaloe but few of them were taken owing to the lateness of the day when we arived & the number of hunters out which drove them from one another which is envariably the case when agreat number of anxious men turn out (out) to hunt after any discription of game the mountains discribed yesterday are of a light grey granit & are the frst seen on our assent from the vally Below Scotts bluff as before mentioned

7 Clear as usual in this region of (of) allmost cloudless Skies moved out of our dry grassless camp crossed clear fine little Brook at the distance of 5 miles on both sides of which the utmost confusion exists vitrified earth clay & rock of several kinds in banks hills Knobs mounds piles & mountains ly & stand in all angles from horizontal to perpendicular but mostly in an angle from 20 to 45 all seem to have been hove up from the N. E. for that is the Slanting direction & the S. W. being nearly perpendicular—and the ranges running frorom N. W. to S.E. formed of grey granit red Sandstone blue lime stone clay red as brick and some black looking Substance resembling decomposed Slate or Something blackned by fire made 14 miles & encamped near a fine spring our camp once again largely supplied with Buffaloe beef

8 The same as yestarday a clear Bright sun & cloudless atmosphere on the road again passed a number of Beautifull little clear Brooks cool & remarkable sweet comeing out of the grey granite mountain lying only a few miles to the South of our rout & in many places the strata rises nearly perpendicular & allway at (at) least 40 degrees with the Horizon Made 17 miles and encamped on a fine little stream almost in sight of N Fork of the Platte in the vally of which Stream we have been traveling ever since leaving Larremie but seldom in sight our encampment is the best for stock we have yet seen since passing the Forks and a number of Scaffolds are arected well covered and smoking with fine Buffalo Beef to dry for the road as well as the Board which is finely stored for supper with the choisest Kind

9 the same Beautifull clear Sky concluded to remain in our prsent position on Boxwood creek which is thickly set with that kind of Timber well Stored with current and choke cherries & a number of Large grissly Bears to feed on them as is plenly seen by their numerous pathes through the brush the Bear feeds on all kinds of fruit but the red willow berry which is extremely Bitter seems to be their favourite food all hands busied in preparing and drying the finest kind of Buffaloe Beef as we are fearfull that they will not be many on the road

ahead walked up to the mountain about 4 miles distant found the top ledges 4 or 500 feet high composed of a whitish grey granite then a strata of rough red sandson 5 or 200 feet thick based on blue & red Lime stone intermixed with red vitrified clay the water of the brook running over loose rock of all the above descriptions

10 Moved off from our encampment on Boxwood & crossed over about 5 miles to the river crossed Several small Brooks and dined on deer creek made 15 miles and encamped on the river Same hard granite gravely rounded hills the mountains keeping close on our left and (and) running paralell to our rout along the river the weather fine as usual the uplands dry and parched

The mountains lying to our left are not very high perhaps not more than 3 or 4000 feet above the vally of the river but they are extremely rugged and Steep the(y) rocks standing in many places nearly in perpendicular strata the range is narrow an uneven vally lying beyond then another paralel range Beyond which is an elevated table land distitute of Timber & Tolerable Smooth Turfed

11 Sunday a Beautifull morning Roled on up the river crossed several fine Brook considerable timber or Junts rather of cottonwood the Bottoms covered with dry fallen Timber which in this region never decays but wares away in Slow degrees by the weather the Buffaloe very fat and excelent eating and still found in great abundance made 18 miles and encamped on the river grass scarce and nearly dry even on the most moist Situations & we begin to find our delay on Kaw river was a great detriment to our traveling here bringing us through this dry region in warmest and dryest part of the Season our Stock begins to look bad and loose their activity and yet we have not arived at the worst part of our long tiresome Journey our own subsistance dose not look so precarious as the forrage for our stock our horses in particular

12 Moved up the river 4 miles to the place whare we leave the river and cross over the red Bute mountain and encamped a few miles below the lower Kenyon the cliffs on this Kenyon are for more than half way up of a fine deep brick red appearantly of burned Slate and a marly clay lime——

13 Made an early start and raised the rounded dry hills of the Red Bute mountain which falls off to moderate hills without timber to the north of our rout but rises again on the head of the South Branches of the Big Horn and Tounge and Powder rivers this range I could not understand was Heretofore named or laid down on any map of this country the tops of thise hills are fine sand and clay lower down a rough sand stone Based on a whitish coloured Slate which with a little

change from Black to red makes the lowermost Strata or bed to be seen and in many places stands edgeways or in perpendicular form made 12 miles of crooked woorming Travel and encamped in a small vally a dry Brook a Brackish [spring] rising near (near) it(s) Buffaloe chips wild Sage and Prairie thorn forming our Stock of wood 4 miles to the South resis The Red Bute which give name to the awfull Kenyon both above & below the Bute on Standing on the cliffs near the edge of the Poicipice you see the river both above & below on two bends of the river which is much narrower at top than at the water the continual waring Below haveing fully doubled its once width through the solid granite & its perpendicular depth being over 1000 feet the stream looking not larger than your finger seemed to be at an angle of 40 at least and clear under your feet.

14 Left our encampment early and again took to the rising hills which we nearly topped in about $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours from which we had a distinct view of Wind river mountain standing in bold raged cliffs directly ahead and about a N.W. course a few rods to the left of the road breakes up a fine oil spring from in under a rounded Knoll of whiteish Slate & appears to be much frequented by the Buffaloe & other animals numerous ledges of different kinds of rock all standing edgewise and nearly perpendicular one in particular of white Sand Stone which extended to the utmost reach of vision in a narrow Straight line nearly north over ridge and hollow now rising then sinking from 3 to 20 feet in hight no discription of mine will give any adauquate idea of the Barren dry Sterility of the dry land of this region Made 20 miles & encamped without grass but had fine water and plenty of good dry wood our rout to day was very crooked & 6 or 8 miles might be Saved by taking a more Southern route

[Some calculations on the inside of the back cover seem to indicate that during the preceding twenty-seven days the average rate traveled was fourteen miles per day.]

BOOK 3

[Cover]

Aug 15, 1844

[Inside front cover]

Augt 18th 1844.

Augt. 26.

Sept 4

J. Clyman

J. Clyman

[Red Buttes to the Blue Mountains, August 15 to September 30]

August the 15th 1844

Left our contracted encampment at willow Spring near the top of the Red Bute mountain & in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour reachd the top of the ridge had a fair view of the east end of the wind river mountain the numerous rough granite peaks on Sweet water & those around Indipindance rock But it soon became So smokey that our fine viws ware intirely obscured the ridges vallys hallows & all (all) the whole region near our rout these last two days have been the (the) most Sterile Barren land imaginable haveing but little vegetation except the wild sage and that not more than Six or (or) eight inches high curled down & level & stiff makeing a good seat Soil granite gravel & sand intermingled with rounded granite Boulders some of considerable size Made 16 miles and encamped on Sweet water $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile below the rock indipendence

16 Moved on up the creek saw the notable rock Independance with the names of its numerous visitors most of which are nearly obliterated by the weather & ravages of time amongst which I observed the names of two of my old friends the notable mountaneers Tho^s. Fitzpatrick & W. L. Sublette as likewise one of our noblest politicians Henry Clay coupled in division with that of Martin Van Buren a few miles furthe[r] up the creek passes through the South point of a most rugged & solid looking granite rock by a verry narrow pass after passing which we entered a vally Surounded by low rugged mountains except to the West whare a defiel Shews itself the lower vally of this creek is well clothed with short grass the upper with sand & sage the mountains with short scattering pines but in many places nothing but the bear rock in large steep Surfaces made 8 miles & encamped for the night on a good plat of grass

17 Smokey But the sun rose over the Eastern mountains in its usual majesty Some recent Signs of a war party of Indians ware discovred yestarddy which caused some uneasiness but verry little more caution roled up the Stream on the South side arang[e] of the most rugged bare granite rocks lay along the North side close to the

water & a range of Blue mountains to the S. at the distance of 6 or 8 miles the sides bear the tops pretty well clothed with pine Timber saw some fine herds of Ibex or wild sheep some of which were taken and (&) found to be very fine eating saw great flocks of young wild ducks many of which were unable to fly not having their wing feathers stiff enough

This region seems to be the refuses of the world thrown up in the utmost confusion rocks without strata forming mountains others standing in perpendicular strata made 13 miles & encamped

Sunday

18 Left our encampment near the granite rocks and moved up the creek & passed several points of the same range of cliffs until we entered a close Kenyon the cliffs nearly approaching the water from either side giving barely room for the teams to pass which opened out into a fine wally at the distance of a few miles above up which we passed and encamped 14 miles from our last camp the grass had been pastured^d very close by the Buffaloe all through the rout up this creek and we found them in great abundance near our encampment a slight Shower of rain fell after which the wind blew quite cool for August which in fact has been the case for several nights although the days for several hours near noon was very warm

19 Left the creek immediately after starting and laid our course south of west and almost directly from the creek which course we traveled most of the day over a barren tract of country nothing escaping the appetite of the Buffaloe except the wild sage which is left for the antelope & mountain grouse the only animals known to feed on such bitter herbage the Barren Sterility of this region must be desolate in the extreme in the winter as it has nothing inviting now Made 18 miles and struck the creek again and encamped without scarcely a particle of grass the earth dry and completely parched to dust which moves in perfect clouds around us during the day when on march it is a little remarkable that all the native animals get so very fat in dry parched region so bare of vegetation

20 crossed over a narrow ridge and struck the creek again above the rocks through which it passes made 7 miles and encamped close below another Kenyon through which the creek passes and near to where we encamped in January 1824 at which time we under J. Smith and T Fitzpatrick first traversed the now well known South pass¹⁰⁷ and camp^d on Green river on the 19th of March 11 days of which time we never saw a drop of water except what we thawed from Snow The

¹⁰⁷ See p. 33.

mountains look quite familiar although I have not seen them for 17 year and it appears as if the 17 summers last past had not in the least diminished the snow that then crown'd their lofty heads which still wore the white appearance of old age

21 It Had the appearance of rain last night and a few drops fell But the sun arose this morning with its usual brightness moved up the dry parched hills crossed a number of ranges of perpendicular rocks black and (&) apparently vitrified passed numerous small brooks & springs very fine and cool & apparently clear of lime or any substance whatever being nearly as pure distilled passed several fine small groves of Aspin the first seen of any consequence Made 14 miles and camp'd on the creek again that we had left this morning now reduced to a small Brook & dammed up by the beaver Likewise confined between steep rocky Bluffs the strata of which rises in perpendicular form Mr. Barnette who has been confined 5 or 6 days with a fever has the appearance of being quite dangerous and has been delirious during the whole of the night

22 Left our thick willow camp and after raising the bluffs Had a fine undulating road across the ridges to another Branch of Sweet water the wild sage the only vegetable seen on the ridges Hardly exceeded two inches in height so completely are these hills formed of dry gravel and deprived of Moisture added to the intense coldness of this high region in sight of the eternal snow that Scarce a week passes without frost and we had a fine one this morning which caused us to hover close to our willow brush fires and [those] out after cattle & Horses complained of cold toes made 7 miles & camped in a pretty faced vally covered with copses of willow and thin short grass many wearing our coats all day without feeling uncomfortably warm

23 Remained in camp to day on the account of Mr. Barneett who we did not expect to live being very low with a Typhus Fever several teams however went on & Mr Gilhams company passed our encampment all Buised in mending washing and preparing for Tomorrow poor Mr Barnett's prospects bad our circumstances not permitting delay & he not being able to travel

To our right and but a short distance Issued a considerable branch of Popo Azia [Agie] the most Southern water of Wind River which Brakes out between a rough pine clad range of mountains and the eternal snow capt. range which rises here from an uneven high plain which forms the dividing ridge Between the waters running into the yallowstone and the platte all portes of which Shew the remains of great convulsions at some remote time

24 A dull cloudy morning the camp made early preperations

For moving & all roled out except ourselves who remain to take care of Mr Barnett whose prspects for living seem a little better than yestarday all though yet quite small every preperation seemed dull & melancholly & many bid the sick man their last farewell look a Spade was thrown out & left which looked rather ominous The ravens came croaking around us and the Shaggey wolf was seen peeping from the hills to see if the way was clear to contend with the ravens for the Fragment of the camp Early in the afternoon Cap^t Shaw and Morisons company hove in sight and the hills and the vally became the seene of life and animation again for the evening they camping about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile below us Several came to visit us Mr. Harris staid though the night

Sunday the 25 Clear and Bright no change for the better in Mr Barnetts Symtoms rather worse allthough medicine seemed to operate well Found it verry Lonesome to be clear of the noise and Bustle of a large camp and to remain Stationary with a Sick man in one of the most prominent Indian passes of the country in the afternoon However Perkins and Scott came up with the rear of all the Emigrants on the rout & we had their company during the night which intirely relieved the lonsomeness of the Place and many of the Ladies seemed emulous to see which should be the most active in giving us advice & assistance for the relief of our appearantly dying friend the Perkins family in particular

I noticed several vegetables now in full Bloom & do not seem to be the least affected by the cold allthough we have had frost & Ice for 4 nights in succession

26 Usually fine and bright Mr Burnett to all appearance Still wareing away under a verry Strong nervous excitement never being Scarcly one minuit still at a time Mr Scotts company¹⁰⁸ remain here to day and Several of the Ladies are verry kind in doing all they can to make the sick man comfortable about noon Mr Barnette commenced with severe Spasms & seem^d to be in the gratest agony imaginable continually driving his teame or calling on some friend to do something or other all those called being absent late in the evening howeveer he became at spells more camlm & even Stupid & about 10 oclock he departed this life verry easy without a struggle or a groan & all his troubles ware in Silent death having nothing better we cut a bed of green willows & laid him out on the cold ground & all of us seated our-

¹⁰⁸ Probably including Captain Levi Scott's family. He was one of the leaders of the Applegate road explorers who laid out the first trail from Oregon through Northern California and into Nevada, in 1846.

selves around our camp fire & listned to the hair beadth escapes of Mr Harris & other Mountaineers

27 Early we ware up and making preperations for the enterment of the deceased when after Burying him in the most decent manner our circumstances would admit we made ready for leaveing Sweet water on which now rests the Body of M^r Barnette the first white man that ever rested his bones on that stream leaving our willow encampment we soon rose the deviding ridge Between the waters of the Atlantic & Pacific which is nothing more than a plasant assent for about 23 miles & decent of the same distance to afine grassy Spring Brook which pours its crystal waters through green River into the gulf of california rode 25 miles and camp^d on little sandy likewise a tributary of green River

28 Made an Early Start & in a few hours came in sight of a large grassy vally through which runs Big Sandy which unites with the stream we encamped on last night a few miles blow & continue nearly a South course untill they mingle their waters with Green river our general course a little West of South yestarday & to day we had a number of fine views of Several of the pinicles of the wind river mountains the country dry & dusty cowed with wild sage & Praerie Thorn & a few other hardy Stinted vegetables traveled down the west side of Big Sandy Several miles from the Stream as it runs in a croked deep Channel Rode 25 miles and camp^d on Big Sandy During the day had one or 2 views of the utaw mountains Several Snowy point being directly South and bearing Southwest

29 In about 2 Hours ride we came to green river a beautifull clear crystal Stream about one hundred yards wide & nearly Belly deep to our Horses running East of S. through a Sandy parched dry country but little of it clothed with grass some groves of Shrubby cotton wood growing on its banks after crossing we rode down the vally of this stream about 6 miles East of South then South over the Bluffs 12 miles to Black fork which Stream likewise runs into Seetskadee [Green River] about 20 miles east of whare our trail struck it all the high ground dry & dusty & covered with the Eternal Sage which can live without rain from June untill october on a clean pure granite gravel after coming down into the vally of Blacks Fork we turned Short to the West up the same rode 5 miles making about 30 miles and encamped with our former mess once more

30 Moved up Blacks fork and in an hour crossed Hams fork coming in from the N.W. through a fine grassy vally crossed Blacks fork & made a cut off of a long bend & struck the river again in the afternoon we had the Singular phenominon of Seeing a Shower of rain in the vally & after the light cloud passed off the peaks of the Eutaw

mountain were covered white with a fresh fallen snow which however were partially covered with the snows of former winters made 18 miles & encamped on the Stream we left this morning numerous Butes Mounds & ridges occurring all through this vally formed to all appearances by wash of water consisting of Red brown white & green clay formed in many places into Soft rock but still washing away by the water at ever[y] freshett Made 14 miles

31 Moved up the vally of Blacks Fork & early in the afternoon arived at Bridger & Vasqueses trading house [Fort Bridger] a tempory concern calculated for the trade with Shoshonees and Eutaws which trade is not verry valuable this place is likewise the general rendezvous of all the rocky mountain hunters & Trappers that once numerous class of adventurers are now reduced to less than thirty men which Started out under the command of M^r Bredger yestarday on an excursion thugh the mountains of Northern & central Mexico this small Trading post is also within the limmits of Mexico but can be no great distance south of the U. S.ates Boundary line this Establisment has a fine grassy vally arround it but of no greate extent we here met M^r Robedeau [Antoine Robidoux] from the arkansas with horses and mules & other articles porposely to catch our trade

Sunday th 1st of September 1844 Moved out north across the hills from Bridgers Trading House found the road rough & hilly & perfectly bare of grass crossed Several steep & deep ravines one of which had some pools of poor Brackish water standing in it in the afternoon passe^d a low range of hills covered with cedar to our left and encamped on a creek called muddy emtying into Hams creek our rout through this Green River vally has been verry crooked & might be easily made to save about 50 miles by keeping more westwardly as the rout is equally level & the only object of this zigzag road is to pass the trading hous which however is some convenienc as we ware able to trade every extra article we had for mokisens & leather clothing. exchanged of all our worn out mules & horses 20 miles

2 Fine & dry moved westwardly up the vally of muddy creek which is entirely bare of grass made 12 miles & encamped in a Loose Scattering manner grass Scarce & dried all up pased Several ranges of volcanic hills rocks standing nearly perpendicular running as usual from S.W. to N.E. But differant from any I had before noticed the perpendicular Bluffs being on the eastern side & the gradual slope on the west the sides of many of the ridges are covered with scatering cedars but most of them are bare having Scarcely any vegetation on them not even the wild Sage which seems to be the hardest vegitable in this cold dry region & I can now see severall Bunches Just dropping the

Bloom although we have had but few nightis without frost since we came in sight of the snow capt mountains game antelopes grouse & Rabbits

3 I let my Horses loose a little before day & they took the road ahead & I did not come up with them for about 4 miles whare they stoped to graze on a small valy of fine grass whare we all Should have encamp^d last night all Subordination and controle haveing been broken up for several days thinking ourselves out of danger at least danger of life But all Savages will Steal & so will the Shoshonees a parti of which are now passing while I am writeing Made 5 miles & encamped at a fine Sping of water the head of the North branch of Muddy on a fine platte of grass the rout to cross the Second mountain or devideing ridge between Green river & Bear river Several of us are preparing to go through on Horses & are Buisily preparing for our departure tomorrow nothing for fire but Sage

4 Left our encampment Early 4 of us on packhorses for fort Hall & In a few hours we arived at the top of the ridge or mountain deviding the waters of green river and Bear riiver which last Emties in to the Greate Salt Lake from the top of the ridge we had a fine view of Green River vally which at this season of the year Looks Bald rough & desolate the Bear River vally ahead not quite so Bad but bear & Bad Enough every thing looking dry and parched the road up the East side follows a ravine whose sides are finely clothed in many places with aspin groves and the assent not verry Steep or difficult several fine Springs breaking out Just below the assent the ascent westward is steep in several places & some sideling ground that requires some care & a good spring Breaks out on Left of the road made 30 melis & encamped on Bear river

5 packed up & moved North down Bear River vally a brad fine well grssed vally with a steep range of volcanick mountains on each side but these ranges are not so regular as those noticied Hertofore but the rocks & earth Shew more the marks of eternal heat about noon we passed Smiths river running into Bear River the former a rapid Stream about 20 yards wide running rapidly over a round gravelly bed clear as crystal & cool as spring water made 24 miles & encamped on the North bend or as the hunters say whare Bear River comes around the point of the mountain this vally is the early Rendevous of the mountain Trappers & hunters But in the last 7 or 8 years the Buffaloe have entirely left this country & are now seldom seen west of Sweet water 20 miles Traveled

6 Started Early on the road following the bends of the River which was here during the forenoon verry crooked running at allmost

all points of the compass early in the afternoon the road Steered out from the river & crossed over a steep rugged mountain which howevir is not wide the decente being very steep & about a mile in length from the top of this mountain we had a view of the N. end of sweet Lake [Bear Lake] which lies in a vally South of the river the river pasing through this mountain opens out into a much larger vally below the mountains bordering this vally have the same vitrified volcanick appearance as yestarday If it was not for the intire want of Timber this vally in many places might bear cultivation to some extent made 27 miles & encamped on a cool mountain Brook destitute of Timber

7 Packed up before Sunrise and made off down the rever a N.W. course through a fine level vally for Several hours the mountains keeping thier usual appearance about noon we again had to cross over a mountain not verry high or rugged We did not Strike the river during the day but crossed several Brooks of good water & encamped at the Soda Springs a company of hunters from Fort hall had Just arived & Likewise a few persons (to hunt and make dried meat) For California

These Springs are a greate natural curiosity the immediate vicinity of Springs are covered with Shrubby Cedars and pine timber & near the river a Shelly rock makes its appearance a little further out a fine white clay which appeared to have been blown up with a Substrata of rock which lies immediately beneath a thin Layer of caly [clay] this appears in dry times to form Quantities of the Salts of Soda then it becomes Quickly moistened and produces a Quanty of gass which is confined below & Bursts up the rock & earth to give it vent. the Strongest Spring is about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile North from the river which is so highly charged that it almost takes your Breath to drink acup of it Quick from the Spring But the most Singular one is below near the river Spouting as much as 6 feet high & a heavy collumn I had not more than one hour to make my examinations I regrett much that I was so hurried Several Large Spings of fresh water Break out in the viceinity of these & one hot Spring the rocks Strewed over the Lower plain has once evidently been in a State of fusion & resemble the Slag thrown out of Lead furnaces I mean the rock Strewed over the lower part of the vally

Sunday

8 After taking several hearty drinks of Soda water we left the Soda Springs went down the vally of the River about three miles when the river & us took different directions we turning Short to the N. & the River to the S a fine looking open vally Shewed itself before us but we ware Sadly disapointed for our appearant Smoothe road was rough & rocky all covered with Cynders of the hardest kind and broken

into chasms & deep holes in all directions & the forenoon was wholly the worst road we have seen the afternoon proved to be better Traveling made 17 miles & encamped on Portnuff a Stream haveing Some curoisity about its heading in (in) the mountain deviding Bear & Snake Rivirs and taking a Southern course into the vally of Bear River it turns short into the mont[ain]

9 Made an Early Start on way up Portnuff & at noon Stop to graze on the top of the mountaines deviding the rivers we found this mountain pass verry cold & windy leaveing our Nooning place we wound around from Knob to ravine a few hours and began [to] desend the ravines of Ross^s. Creek toward Snake River Saw Some good Soil on these mountains but it is so dry & cold that it is useless made 25 miles and camp^d. The Prairies haveing been burnt recently our horses fared rather poor the ranges of these hills or mountains are not so regular as some others we have passed But are burned blacker and harder than any yet seen & are thrown up in a more confused manner Saw no kind of game Save a few covy^s of mountain grouse

I fear the whole country West and South of us will be burned over as it keeps verry Smokey

10 Moved on down the creek N.W. & Soon came in sight of the broad extensive vally of Snake river which for Several miles was entirely covered with wild Sage & deep blackish Sand after a fatiguing [ride] we at length reach^d the Low vally & found plenty of grass & good water whare we unpacked to graze Made 16 miles & encamped on Snake River about 2 miles above Fort Hall as we understood the grass was poor Further down this vally is wide & the Northern Highlands are invisible perhaps on account of the Smoke which lies thick in this vally the land appears to be poor & cold with great Quantities of Springs & Brooks in all Directions with the finest Kind of Trout but they ware Difficult to be Taken I did not go down to visit the Fort as I had no Letters for that place a good stock of cattle is Kept at the fort & a Large Quantity of Horses

11 one $\frac{1}{2}$ hour bro^t us oposite to the white washed mud walled Battlements of Fort Hall and as I had no Buisiness to transact I did not go inside But the outward appearance was pretty fair for a comfortable place for all that the present trade admits of Flour plenty at \$20 per cwt. as nothing was purchased I cannot give any other prices but I presume they are as cheap as any of her Sister establishment in this region about noon crossed Portnuff here a Swift Stream 60 yards wide & Belly deep to our horses haveing plenty of T[r]out in it Made 18 miles & encamped on the river about half of a mile above the first falls during the whole of the afternoon we ware passing large

bottoms of grass which would Support a considerable number of cattle & other Stock but no land fit for cultivation the uplands are covered with wild Sage

12 about Sunrise we ware again on the trail and passed the falls whose musick luled us to sleep last night these falls have but little perpendicular pitch but fall about 16 or 18 feet in a verry short distance the water comeing rapidly down a raged rock is torn all into white foam Several rapids occured this forenoon and the whole country appears to have been once in a complete fusion of Liquid matter the rocks are all of a dark Borown & Black vitrified colour & some resembling Black glass in every particular a fiw Scattering cedars appear along the Bluffs which only help to give the country more of a melencholly appearance the Eternal Sage plains appear as extensive as formerly Cossed one singular creek which came tumbling down rapidly over a continual Succession of diposit damns made from the water made 27 miles

13 last night contrary to our expectations we came to a brook with a broad vally of fine grass this brook is called cassia & is the place whare Mr. Hitchcock¹⁰⁶ left our rout & went South with 13 wagons in company for callifornia this days Travel is the most Barren Sterril region we have yet passed nothing to disturb the monotony of the Eternal Sage plain which is covered with broken cynders much resembling Junks of pot mettal & Now & then a cliff of Black burned rock which looks like Distruction brooding over dispair found a filthy pond of water at noon made 28 miles & encamped on the river which we left yestarday & again had fair grazeing No animal Seen no fowl Save a few mountain grouse which can live in any region whare vegetation can grow our couse down this river so far has been S.W.

14 Left our camp on the river & Steered S. of W. across a Barren Sage plain corssed one brook of water & Saw 2 Antelope the only animals seen in some days The earth is the driest I ever saw it & the dust rises in perfect clouds every particle of moistness & adhsion is obliterated & lost & currents of dust is frequently seen rolling down the path & Spreading like hot embers that have been well Stirred came to the River to noon & grze the River running through cliffs of Black volcanic Rocks which grew Steeper & higher as we decended down the River at length we left the Bluffs of the River being 1000 or more feet of Perpendicular Rock standing from the plain to the water & the river pressed to 20 or 30 feet in width after 20 miles of fatiugueing ride we encamp^d haveing made 30 miles at fair grass & water

Sunday

15 Left our camp on the brook & moved off west over a Sage

¹⁰⁶ Cf. page 333.

plaine as usual Kept down the course of the creek we encampd. on last night soon saw that it fell in to a Kenyon of Steep Black Rocks after following 8 or 10 miles we crosseed..over the Kenyon at a favourable point & Struck for the River over the usual Kind of Sage plane & late in the afternoon we descended the main Kenyon on Snake River The Black battlement cliffs of this river remind one of the Fragments of a world destroyed or at least destroyed for all human purposes on the river we found a Small fishing party of Ponack^s. [Bannocks] who had plenty of Small fish of the Sucker mouthed Kind Several Tremendious Springs come Pouring out of the rocks opposite Made 20 miles & encamped on the River confined in Between high & impassible rocks

16 Pased down the Kenyon to the mouth of a Small river & over the ridge to the little or upper Salmon Falls whare we found a number of Indians encamped who offered us plenty of dried Salmon cheap & almost for any thing we offered them these falls are Surrounded with high inaccessible Clay & rock Bluffs the vally norrow & Broken up with ravines Sandy without vegetation except Sage & some of the Same Kind of useless hardy plants Made 25 miles over Sage plains deep ravines clay Bluffs &c &c it being the most uneven roade we have yet had for so greate a distance & the most Barren county of grass Likewise as well as an intire want of water except in the River [which] runs in such a precepice that only a few places can [be] descended even on foot & then to return to the summt is $\frac{1}{2}$ a days hard labour

17 Left our position & went down the River whare it was with difficulty that our pack horses could Travel on account of the steepness of the way at length about 10 A.M. we came to the ford or upper crossing of the river & saw a few Teams on the opposite side that had left Fort Hall 6 days before us. Soil since we left portnuff Slaked & unslaked lime volcanic rocks & fine & coarse sand Sometimes simple & pure & other times mixed in various proportions vegetation Sage prairie Thorn & Liquorice plant all Shrubby but thick set with Scarcely any grass on the uplands Some lowlands are Sometimes well set withe Short grass made 24 miles & encamped on a Small Brook with Several Wagons & found Some Ney Percee Indians with them & a few Snakes Some difficulty was likely to grow out of a Stolen horse. the [matter] was easily settled

18 After crossing the River yestarday we Steered north Several miles We raised a high bluff & crossed an uneven sage plane on a western direction & at Starting we Steered N.W. to the point of a low Mountain intirely destitute of Timber But Plenty of Sage & the ground Strewn thick with Cynders & other volcanic Rock verry rough & Sharp

to travel over passed a verry hot Spring & grazed at a muddy Brook overgrown with canes

The afternoon about 10 miles was the most Rocky rough road we have yet seen made 25 miles & encamp^d on a Small Brook running through a deep Kenyon the mountains again made their appearanc on the South Side of Snake River which had disappered for Some days past the Rocky cliffs to our North of us appear verry dry & Rugged

19 A few hours from our last nights encampment Brot us to an entire chang of Surface & we gladly exchang^d the rough volcanick rocks for good hard gravel road but Quite uneven and the Burnt earth & rock entirely disapeared & was succeeded by the rough grey granite Standing like Stumps on a fallow or more like a monumental church yard this singular appearance lasted in groups for several hours & we saw but little sage during the day Made 30 miles & encamped at the first possible chance we found to desend to the River Gross Boise or Bigwood which here comes rushing out of the most uneven Rugged Mountain I had yet seen & passes rapidly down through a Steep Kenyon which cannot [be] assended or desended even on foot except in a few places this is a rapid Stream about 40 yards wide & is fine for Salmon

20 Set out down the river west the mountains to our right and the perpendicular rock Bank to the left both receding & deminishing a fine wide vally opened to our view & we pased down through the dust which was almost past endureance but not much wose than it had been for Several day past This stream has more Timber & Brush than most of the streams of this [region] allthough this vally is wide yet it has scarcely any grass & the land is as dry as ashes & would not produce any Known grains or vegitables made 20 miles & encamped on the river which is as clear & fine as a mountain Torrent which it is of the finest Kind ourselves & animals are completey tired out with dust & burned Prairies which has generally been the case since we left the devide between Bar River and Snake River Camp^d with 2 Teams that ware ahead

Made 28 miles

21 Left our camp & Took to the dust again in a few miles we passd 9 wagons in camp about 4 miles further passed 14 or 15 more all making a move for the road crossed over the river to the north Side & made our way down a dry dusty plane untill noon this river so far has but little grass & what is is dry or Burne^d close to the ground to day we are almost out of Sight of Mountains only the tops of a few being visable The country we have passed over will be distressing to the teams in the rear as it is already bare

Afternoon again Bore down the vally found it verry dry &

dusty But better grassed course North of West a little Before Sundown came in sight of Fort Boisie & encamped for the night a beautiful clear evening & the sun went tranquilly down behind the Blue mountans without a cloud to be seen

Sunday

22 Left our camp 2 miles above Fort Boise & passed the mud walld Fort of Boise & the clerk was Kind enough to make us out a Sketch of the rout to walla walla crossed Snake River a Short distance below the Fort found the ford good & Smoothe but rather deep for wagons unpacked on the opposite Side Several Families of Ponacks & Sauptins [Nez Percés] ware encamped at the Fort it being Sunday the sauptins refused to trade with our men on account of the Sabbath Packed oup & put N. of W. Snake River running N. The Trail carried us over another Sage plain 14 miles to Malure River a dirty deep Stream running to the N.E. with a fine large dry vally covered in strong coarse grass & small willows a hot spring coming out on E. Shore under a high cliff of volcanic rocks

Made 28 miles

23 Left our camp on Malure & Struck out N.W. up a vally the eastern branch of which we assended to the head & decended another dry ravine beyond the ridge the entire country covered with sage which from some cause or other is nearly all dead passed the Birch Spring and encamped on Snake River which here comes out of a rough looking mountain to the east & makeing a Short curve goes off into the mountains again to the North our camp is verry poor for grass which has been the case for Several days & no appearance for the better many of our horses are nearly exhausted & several afoot this evening we raised our bread with saleratas picked up a few miles east of independent rock on sweet water

24 Clear as usual for it has not rained Since we left Fort Larrie passed a ridge & soon Struck by what we Supposed to be Burnt River Quite a small crik Bound in by steep high Lime rock Mountains almost impasible for our horses yet the wagons have gone this rout these mountains as well as those passed yestarday shew all the visible effects of fire Som red some yellow Brown white & green mostly of decomposed rock & remarkable fine clay all dry & dusty even to the touch Made 17 miles through the worst mountains and over the worst road we have yet seen the sides of these mountains are nearly pependicular & composed of granite & rough Slate rock without any timber or any other kind of vegetation except Short grass and in many places entirely bare

25 Left our camp in the slate mountains & after making two or

three curves in the hills we came out on an open country comparatively & Struck Burnt river again in a vally north of which stands a singular conicle Knobb crown^d with several pinicles of rocks resembling horns no game of any kind seen not even the appearance of a rabbit which are so plenty on snake River Made 18 miles & encamp^d at a Spring amongst rounded Knobs well clothed in Short grass as all the country in sight has been all the afternoon there seems to be an entire change of Soil from any we have passed over Lately all the streams are likewise (are) slightly skirted to day with willows alders & a Species of Birch & other Shrubery but no valluable timber has been seen since we passed the Black Hills

26 Left our camp at the spring & took the trail bearing N. up though the hills arived at the top of the ridge Saw to our left mountains clothed with pine or othe[r] evergreen timber a few hours brought us to another detested sage plain that vegetable being Scarce for the last 2 days Nooned at what is called the lone Tree in the middle of a vally & a fine one it has been of the pine Spicies now cut down & all the branches used for fuel the day verry Smoky & I Begin to daubt M^r. Espy^s theory of produceeing rain by any phisical means as the whole country has been on fire for a month past & no rain yet a range of mountains lying close to our left seem to be all enveloped in Smoke Made 25 miles & encamped on Powder River which runs (when there is Plenty of water) through a fair vally of grass the hills Likewise are generally well covered with the Same, our selves & animals are becomeing tired of travel

27th Came to our camp last night M^r [William C.] Dement and 4 Indians going to meet the wagons their object I did not asertain but some (some) speculation no doubt Passed through a beautifull vally this fore noon well grassed but to dry for cultivation a Timbred mountain close to our left the same seen range yestarday morning As we caught our horses for our afternoons travel Some Indian as is their habit when they discover Strangers in their country set fire to the grass about a half mile ahiad of us our rout being N. & a strong south wind blowing the fire kept ahead of us though the hills about 6 or 8 miles and when we overtook the fire we had some difficulty in passing it but all got through nearly suffocated with smoke & dust & entered the grand Round vally the whole mountains which surround this vally completely enveloped in fire and Smoke neare Sundown we discovered a man rideing rapidly toward us which proved Mr Watters [James Waters] from Willamitt waiting for his family which he expects to come in this seasons imigraton made 26 miles and encamped close under the Bleue Mountains in company with Mr. Watters & Mr [Rice?]

28 Concluded to ly still to day and rest ourselves and horses before taking the Blue Mountains which we are informed will be two days without grass this is a well watered well grassed vally but the thick smoke preventes me from seeing the probatle Size or extent I think however it is not large Remained in camp to day which was Quite warm although we had a white frost last night as we have had for several nights past. Encamped in this vally are several hudred Indians of the Skyuse nation now amalgamated with Shehaptin or Pierce nose nation 30 or 40 of these people visited us this afternoon & from whom we traded a little cammerce thy bringing with them some peas & Squashes of their own raising they seemed to be anxious to see our wagons & cattle they being anxious to trade horses (for) of which they have great Quantities for cattle & appear to be rapidly advancing in civilization this vally is also verry favourable to the groth of the (root) Cammerce root a root much resembling & onion in appearance but of a Sweet rich tast when roasted after the manner of the Indians the smok appeared to encrease

29 Sunday Left our camp in the grand Round vally and took up the Blue Mountains which are steep & rough but not so bad as I had anticipated from Previous information came to the grand round creek in about 10 miles the mountain so far is mostly Prairie & fairly covered with g[r]ass some parts However espically the ravines & vallies are covered with pine & spruce timber the rocks all shew the effects of internal fires Left our nooning & proceeded on N. Westward Pased some remarkable wild & lonesome groves of pine & firr that had a dark appeearanc & the more so on account of the thick smoke that enveloped the mountain in such clouds as to nearly hide the sun at midday continued untill dusk along bare rocky rough Sides of the mountain extremly bad for wagons & encamped with out water there being but little water in these dry vitrified ridges made 26 miles saw but little sign of any wile animals Except Pheasants which are plenty in some parts of this range & live upon the berries of winter green which grows in Quantities in many places saw likewise a speeces of Laurel or Ivy on the Ridgis

30 Saddled up at day light and proceded on our way found the trail tolerable for hosses in about 8 miles came to some pools of Standing water whare we took Breakfast these mountains are partially covered with Several Kinds of evergreen timber the South sides of the ridgis are bare or thinly sit with grass all the rocks & they are plenty shew the effects of fire at some remote period the caly [clay] is of the same kind as that found on the plains verry fine and Soluble in water but of a yellow colour Some a verry deep yellow with all Shades

down to a pale grate Quantities of coarse pumice stone laying
 strewed over the ground particularly near the western desent of the
 mountain the western desent of the Mountain is much more easy &
 grduel than the eastern so far I have seen but little land that would
 be called fit for cultivation in any of the Western States allthough there
 are a fiw Spots that would bare cultivation Made 25 miles & en-
 camped on a Small brook or rather Spring to the right of the trail &
 close to the foot of the mountain

[Inside back cover]

Madison Gilmore	tell these
Joel Walker	Gentlemen
Peter H. Burnett	that Gnel [General]
Anarson [Anderson] Smith	Gilham is on the road
James Watters ¹⁰⁹	and scarce of Provision ¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ All these, except Walker, were immigrants of 1843.

¹¹⁰ John Minto, writing from memory after many years, says that Peter H. Burnett "had left a letter at Fort Hall in 1843 to the effect that if for any cause there was likely to be suffering before the families could reach the Willamette and we would let it be known, relief would be sent." Clyman and Minto were among those who went forward on horseback. They met Dement, Waters and Rice already on the road to meet the immigrants, adds Minto, *Oregon Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, vol. 2, June, 1901, pp. 119-67; Sept., 1901, pp. 209-54.

BOOK 4

[Cover]
Oct 1844

[Inside front cover]
Stapleton^s in California
Sarcoxi^e P. O. Missouri

[*The Blue Mountains to the Valley of the Willamette, October 1 to 13*]

Tuesday Oct 1st 1844

A Beautifull morning & fine clear nights I neglected to mention yesterday that this vally was nearly covered with horses when we came down the mountain but no Indians came to our camp this as well as the grand round vally being one of the great Stopping places of the Kyuse tribe of Indians & from them we obtained Some Potatoes Corn Peas & Squashes of their own raising they likewise are verry anxious to obtain cows & other cattle for which they exchang horses of which they have great Quantities There is no climate finer than this if dry weather constitutes a fine climate & indeed the days remind one of Byrons discription of Italy not a cloud to be seen neither day nor night for months together

Left our encampment & proceded on the Trail 2 or 3 miles when we came to a Kyuse farm Krailed [corralled] in with willows and planted with corn beans potatoes &c &c here we left the wagon trail which turns to the right & goes to Dr Whitmans said to be 40 or 50 miles further than the rout we took which goes down the Utila I here observed that the wild Bunch grass of this country was intirely eat out near the Indian farms and does not seem to grow again Traded some potatoes of the Kyuse Women & proceeded on down the Utila a fine mill-stream made 16 miles & campd on the creek at the head of a Kenyon through which the creek passes during the day saw several large roads leading in different directions

2nd I neglected to mention that I forwarded all the letters intrusted to my care & directed to Mr [H. H.] Spalding & Dr. [Marcus] Whitman to Mr Gilbert who left us in the grand round vally to go directly to Dr Whitmans & I hope they went to their proper directions

Last night about 8 oclock & while we ware all siting by our camp fire talking & thinking ourselves one niight safe for horse thieivs we heard an unusual tramping of our horses When I arose & walked out in the direction of our horses what was my surprise to find my fine but most st[a]rved mare being driven off by an Indian on hose back not haveing brought my gun with me I called to him to halt at which he put off at full speed leaveing the mare & 2 mules that ware following so much for the Kyuse who are said to be the most honest Savage people

on the continent our fore noons travel has been mostly down the utilla through a very dry country the stream confined amidst a black wall of volcanick rocks & over a dryer upland thinly coated with short grass made 26 miles & encamped on the utilla several Indians made their appearance but did not come to us this afternoon passed some small patches of cultivated land in a small but rich vally near the creek the weather contines verry smoky allthough we have not seen any fires for several days this creek does not afford any valuable timber ther being nothing but cotton wood that grows to any size & that is verry shrubly

3^d Left our camp amidst the walla walla camps there being 3 of their fires in sight none of them came near us during the night & as several men ware robed by them last season we ware glad to [see] that they kept at a distanc our party being now reduced to 4 men the others some haveing gone to Dr Whitmans and some having preceded us on leaveing camp We likewise left the timber which extends no farthe down the utilla the stream running over black burned rocks to whare it enters the columbia came on the banks of the great river about 11 o'clock which shews no change but runs through sand planes & rocky banks so far as we went without timber or drift wood except here & there a small clump of willows & those scarce passed several encampments of Wallawallas sutuate on sand bars along the river which came out & gazed at us as we passed

Made 24 miles over mostly sand plains covered with sage & prickly pears bothe of which we thought & hoped that we had passed at our camp we found it difficult to gather as much Brush weeds & sage as would boil a fiw potatoes & a cup of coffee the river looks Beautiful & the water clear and good but nothing else can be seen to change the sight of the detested sage & sand plnes —

Greate Quantities of Salmon are taken in the utilla when the water is up in June and their appears to be plenty of that Fish in the stream yet as we could hear splunging on the ripples all night but they are [not] considered good at this season haveing become Quite poor from thier long stay in fresh water as the smallest kind of a fish could not assend this streame at this season of the year the upper vally of this stream would make some handsome farms if their was any timber to be had but none is seen except cottonwood & willow

4 Had a Quiet nights rest and a Beautifull clear morning Left our camp on the great river & proceed down the River passed several Indian villages all on the oposite side nothing seen but rocks sand & a shrubby stinted groth of vegetation with here & there [a] Bunch of

short grass the north side of the River appears to be closely Bound by a ridge of Black frowning rocks current of the river rapid

The ridge of rocks mentioned in the fore noon closed up on the south side in afternoon and gave us an uncommon bad road even in this steril region and we had to travel over sharp rocks or deep sands & sometimes both the rocks being covered deep in sand so that our horses sunk half leg deep in sand & then stepped on unknown sharp rocks at the bottom making the way extremely tiresome & bad

Made 26 miles & encamped on the (on the) River again before we had packed up three men with their guide & interpreter came up from willamette on their way to meet the emigrants one of them general [M. M.] McCarver was expecting to see his family on the road but we could not give him any information concerning them we soon parted they proceeding up & we down the river

The general seemed to speak in raptures of the Oregon Country and even went on to say that on the top of the cliff of Black rocks under which we were encamped was a fine grazing country this may be admitted but certainly there was not the amount of one cord of wood in the circuit of 25 miles & perhaps not a drop of water in the same distance except what flowed in the Columbia & many other extravagancies

5 Left our camp once more after having 28 miles of the most tiresome Travel we had yet found on account of the Quantity of sharp fallen rocks which filled the path over which we had to travel the [path] leading near the water in under a cliff of dark perpendicular rocks the fragments of which had fallen down & choked up all the narrow valley far in to the water some times descending to a considerable height immediately under the cliff & then ascending back to the water edge along a narrow path which one animal could scarcely travel in over sharp rocks made the road tiresome in the extreme & we traveled steadily all day without stopping the afternoon being windy & Bo[is]torous the dust & sand nearly choked us when about sundown we came to a small open valley & encamped for the night tired and glad to find a resting place large enough to lay down on these rocks remind one of immense walled cities castled forts & ruins of tremendous magnitude but this is the last place in the world to enjoy any such scenery where nothing is to be seen but rocks Sand & Savages

Sunday

6 Crossed John Days River early which like all the country in this region comes in through steep rocks & is difficult to cross on account of the rocks being very steep passed several steep cliffs all of which may [be] said to be dangerous on account of the loose rocks of which they

are composed & the high perpendicular cliffs below jetting over the river Late in the afternoon passed the river De Shutes made 44 miles in the 2 days

7 yestarday evening after passing the River De Chuttes took a guide who conducted us a short rout over the hills to a small rich vally with handsome little Brook running through it where we encamped for the night this vally would bear cultivation but has no timber in sight saw mount hood nearly west covered in snow nearly half way dow[n] its sides this weather continues thick & smoky

yanky story

Every device and artifice is used by the natives of this river to obtain amunition & other manufacteried articles of the whites & the following was used by some natives to day 5 or 6 natives came leaping & yelling gaily from bahind the sand hills one [had] a small piece of dried salmon an other a few handfulls of corn a 3^d some dried roots each bringing something & insisted that we should eat we continued moveing on & they running along side offering ther subsistence without price untill reaching a bend in the River westoped to let our horses drink when one of them spreading his blanket on the sand they spread out the repast for us, & obliged us to taste the provision which gave them a fair right to beg and importune us for tobacca Lead powder and in short every small article they could think of after giving a part of what they wanted we rode on they seeming well pleased

Reached Mr [H. K. W.] Perkins missionary station in the fore noon now occupied by Mr [Alvan F.] Waller delivered to him a letter taken from the office at west port Mr Waller appears to be a gentleman but I do not recolect that he thanked me for the care & trouble of bringing the letter but the reverend gentleman must be excused for my appearance certainly did not shew that I could appreccate any civilities not haveing shaved for about 15 day or changed clothes for more than 30 and the Reverend gentleman pricking himself verry much on outward appearances as I have since understood

8 started up the steep ridge west of the creek & in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour reached the top our selve & horses in a foam of sweat on account of the steepness of the path but the cool mountain Breeze soon relieved our lungs this like all the ridges of this mountain was soon crossed & we had a longer & steeper decent than any previously crossed but after a pack horse or two pitching thire loads over their heads we at length reached not the bottom but smoothe going which fell into deep ravines to the right passed over an uneven plain covered with the pines & largest kind of Fir & pine timber interspersed with stented oaks this continued for some 9 [?] miles with several small Brook passing

through made 18 miles & encamped near the bank of rapid tumbling mountain torrent immediately below the forks the eastern branch from its colour & appearance being a part of the weepings from the white summit of Mount Hood which is covered in snow more than half way down its sides

The ridges over which we passed are very steep and high being about 2 miles & about the same distance down the opposite side

From the missionary establishment passed yesterday there is a grand view of the Columbia pushing its course through the black Frowning rocks which stand in thick profusion in over & about the stream with the wildest mountain scenery in all directions & of all kinds surmounted in the north west by a conical summit of a mountain capped in Eternal snow

9 Proceeded early up the East side of the stream we had encamped on & soon crossed the Eastern branch the water being very rapid tumbling & rolling down amidst the rocks which lay so thick that it was difficult for our horses to keep their feet passed up the stream some miles through almost impervious thickets of very green shrubbery of to me new & unknown kinds crossed over to the W Branch through the same kind of shrubbery & passed up the East side of the W Branch through immense groves of Fir timber the tallest & straightest I ever beheld some supposed to be nearly or quite 100 feet high & not more than 18 inches through at the ground immense mountains covered and crowded thickly with timber appearing in all directions in the afternoon we ascended an open ridge the large timber having (havein) been killed off by fire & from this ridge we had a splendid view of Mount Hood & various other ridges & pinacles some thickly timbered to their summits others nearly bare or covered with under brush showing at this season a greater variety of [colors] some covered with a species of dwarf maple wore a deep red appearance others yellow & brown contrasted with the deep green Fir of other points & the white snowy summit of Mount Hood gave us all the variety of shades almost between green white & red But soon we took down the steep sides again & all views were lost except now & then a perpendicular peep up an immense Fir tree which seemed to have no reasonable stopping but went on to a dizzy height

Made about 25 miles & encamped after sun down tied up our horses not having seen a handful of grass during the day

10 Saddled our Starved animals and proceeded up the course of one of branches of the same creek we followed all day yesterday the same immense quantity of timber continuing & not in the [least] diminished in size & height in about 4 hours winding around & jumping over

logs we (we) assended the highest ridge of the cascade mountains over which the trail passes but the timber prevented us from having any view in any direction turning short to the west we began our descent down the western declivity & following the course of a ravine through which ran a clear Brook of cool water we descended rapidly and found going down hill more pleasant than going up especially when one goes on foot as we all did our horses not being able to carry us in about 3 hours we came to an open sandy vally through which ran a rapid Brook called Sandy the vally being more than a mile wide & covered with sand & Loose rock

This vally appeared to have been a deep mountain ravine at no distant period from the great Quantities of dry Firr that [were] standing on each side and lay strewn over and intermingled with the rocks and sand and as the Stream takes its rise from the summer weepings of Ice & snow on the western declivity of Mount Hood I conclude that some tremendous avalanch must have descended into the vally carrying every thing before it rock sand gravel timber & all in one confused mass the whole being carried down filled up the narrow ravine & forming the present vally now Just begining to shew a stented groth of young Firrs or that some internal heat must have melted off the ice & the immense flood of water broke over all its original bounds tore away from the lower part of the mountain [the] mixed mass that now fills & forms the vally

11 Left our camp on sandy & proceeded along the blind trail down the stream at a slow gate untill nearly noon the brawling mountain torrent haveing assumed Quite the appearanc of a river we left the stream & turned short to the right & soon came to a kind of Brushy opening of rich soil & some grass where we stoped to graze an hour saw some male Fern growing here nine or 10 feet in high

moved on the trail along a narrow ridge amongst the tall Firr and the emmence large Hemlock timber great Quantities lying down & more standing Several small Brooks crossing our path untill near sundown we came to an opening or Small Prairie where we encamped for the night going nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ amile down a steep declivity for water to cook our Suppers during the whole of today the country had been burned some still on fire & some had been burned last year the under Brush being killed & the larger [timber] haveing fallen in all directions made the travelling verry bad & tiresome as our horses had to leap over all the logs filled with sharp snags & limbs to the great danger of letting out their entrails

Made about 18 miles & we ware glad to find a spot of green grass for our animals to feed on during the night these mountains do not

appear to have much game on them as we saw nothing but a few small Squirrels & some Pheasants the latter plenty in (in) some places & several were killed to day which proved to make a fine Treat and ate well being fat and finely flavored passed several small spots of land that appeared to have a deep rich soil of pale redish coloured clay mingled with decomposed rock and gravel and generally covered with an immense thick and large growth of fir timber

12 Again under way before Sunrise a stiff white frost covered the grass & weeds in an hours travel we came down a Steep hill into a low ground completely strewn over with logs & brush a late fire having passed over in many [places] the smoldering logs were (were) yet smoking after leaping logs & Breaking Brush we succeeded in gaining the Banks of sandy the stream we left to the south of us yesterday & crossed to South side where for a mile or more we encountered the same difficulties as on the North side after greater exertion to our Jaded animals we at length gained the top of the Bluffs where the path became more open and traveling more pleasant crossing two or three handsome Brooks & passing as many thickets we at length gained an open highland of fine Soil covered thickly with fern & dug thickly with holes by some Burrowing animal what kind I did not ascertain¹¹¹

Made about 15 miles and encamped at a small Spring where we found fair grazing for our animals and we made preparations for Shaving & preparing ourselves to see our countrymen tomorrow

almost wearied out with the continual watching it requires to travel through an unsettled country such as we had now passed our little party felt lively and happy and [it] became a pleasant task to once more wash shave and bathe ourselves in the cold clear running little brook that passed our present encampment and we spent a Jovial evening around our camp fire in the anticipation that for a while at least our constant toils were about to cease as we knew the settlements were not far distant about dark two Indians of the Walla walla tribe came up & camp^d near having been to Willamette trading they remained with us & in the morning we parted each [going his own] road

Sunday

13 Early we were again on our saddles and Kept down the valley of (of) some creek or river [of] which we heard the water rippling but did not come in sight of the stream, the trail leading along through a kind of fir opening where the grass in places looked green as summer in spots but we soon passed over all the fine places going up (and) steep banks through brush & logs almost impassable the woods having been recently burned & many old logs yet smoking and again crossed sandy

¹¹¹ Probably the Sewellel or *Aplodontia*, a burrowing rodent about the size of a muskrat, and inhabiting the fern thickets in the Cascade Mountains.

haveing increased to a small river still running rapid over a rocky bed the low grounds being litterly covered with logs and brush after tearing through brush and leaping logs about an hour we at length assended the bluffs & found an open trail comparatively crossed Several fine running brooks of clear water steep gutters &c &c About 2 oclock P.M. came on the top of ridge & saw some cattle feeding on the vally of the clackimus River & soon came in sight of a cabbin the first of the settlement of Willhamett and on enquiry found we ware within 4 miles of the Falls of Willhamett the Seat of government & the main commercial place for all the settlments of the Teritory of Oregon crossed a rough rocky Ridge & came to a small farm or two on the bottom land of the Clackimus crossed the river at an old Chinook village and in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour we ware on the banks of the Willhamett River and at (on) the lower part of the town or city platt

as soon as I entered the village I shook hands with a Mr Ware [J. W. Wair] a young man of my acquaintance from Indiana who came out with the last years emigration 20 miles

[Along the Willamette in 1844 and 1845]

It Commenced Raining on [Oct.] the 21 which is Earlier than usual From the 13th to the 22nd remained at the falls of Wilhamett or in the near vicinity when Three of us precured a skiff and made an excursion down to Fort Vancouver

This great depository of goods and peltries for all the Indian trade west of the main range of the Rocky mountains stands on a gravelly plain on the north side of the Columbia River and about five miles above the upper mouth of the Wilhamet and is situated bearly above extreme high water mark

The Fort itself is a wooden stockade and contains in its inside the companies store all the officies of the company and a complete Quad-angular row of Buildings for servants &c which like the outer works can be closed by port doors at pleasure all in a good State of repair & kept clean and neat

The present incumbent Doct. [John] McLaughlin received us verry hospitably and intertained us in the most kind genteel and agreeable manner during our stay at the Fort giving all the information desired on all subjects connected with the country but seemed anxious that greate Brittain might retain the north of the Columbia river saying that it was poor and of little use except the Fur and peltries that it yeluded this may or may not be the fact¹¹²

¹¹² McLaughlin's protests were unavailing. A number of the 1844 immigrants established themselves north of the Columbia, being the first Americans who settled there.

25th On our return from Vancouver the morning being pleasant I took my gun and left the skiff to the management of my comrades and landed on the western shore of the Willhamet I soon found a stripe of open Prairie land overflowed in high water but now dry and pleasant walking with here and there a pool of mud and water which has stood the drough of summer These pools or ponds are now overgrown with several kind of vegetation and (and) litterly and completely covered over with water fowl of various kinds from the nobl and majestick swan down to the Teal & plover For miles the air seemed to be darkened with the emmenc flights that arose as I proceeded up the vally the morning being still thier nois was tumultuous and grand the hoarse shrieks of the Heron intermingled with the Symphonic Swan the fine treble of the Brant answered by the strong Bass of the goose with ennumerable shrieking and Quacking of the large and Smaller duck tribe filled every evenue of Surrounding space with nois and reminded one of Some aerial battle as discribed by Milton and all though I had been on the grand pass of waterfowl on the Illinois River it will not begin to bear a comparison with this thier being probably Half a Million in sight at one time and all appearantly Screaming & Screeching at once

26 Arived at the Falls again the las week being showery.

27 Sunday Fair and warm wrote to H J Ross¹¹³

[Clyman's Letter to Ross]

COL. CLYMAN. — Most of our readers in this vicinity, and particularly those who are old settlers, remember Col. James Clyman, one of the earliest settlers of Wisconsin, and they know also that a year ago last spring the Col. started with an emigrating party to Oregon. A few days since Mr. Hiram Ross received a letter from the Col. which we subjoin. We are confident that we could not give place in our columns to any thing that would be more acceptable.

Willamet Falls, Oregon,

October 27, 1844.

I arrived here on the 13th day of the present month, having been on the way 151 days from Independence, Missouri, which was at least one month longer than were the last year's company of emigrants. This was owing to the unusual rains that fell during the first two months after our departure from Missouri.

My health is good and has been during the whole route. The health of the small party that accompanied me is also good. The last thousand miles no interruption from the Indians took place, nor did even a shower of rain fall to lay the dust.

¹¹³ This letter, which follows, is quoted from the *Milwaukee Courier*, Aug. 13, 1845.

None of the families have yet arrived. The foremost are expected to reach this neighborhood in about a week. The last range of mountains, called the Cascades, have never been passed with waggons. We were five days passing over this range of mountains, and found it by far the most difficult and fatiguing part of the journey, both for ourselves and our horses. The mountains extend to within a few miles of this place. The range runs nearly north and south. The Willamet is on the west side of the mountains. The Columbia breaks through from east to west; it has a number of dangerous passes, and two falls that cannot be passed by the lightest canoe. Our families, waggons and baggage were carried around the falls; the portages however are not lengthy.

The settlements of this Territory appear to be in a good and prosperous condition. Even the last years' emigrants, some of whom have not been more than 9 or 10 months on their new farms, have plenty for themselves, and some to spare for their countrymen now on the way. Of bread, beef, fish, and potatoes of a superior kind, we have plenty. The three first mentioned articles are exported. The Brig Columbia is now freighted with wheat and flour, and will sail in a few days for the Sandwich Islands. A probable trade with the Islands is already commenced. From us they receive wheat, flour, beef, pork and lumber. In return we receive from the British, Chinese & American manufactured articles; and molasses, sugar, coffee, and rice, the growth of the Islands.

Standing in the door of my present lodgings I can count sixty-two buildings. They form the present village of the city of Oregon. Timber and lumber lay scattered about for more buildings, say 8 or 10. Several other villages, (one or two of them I have seen) have some pretensions to future greatness, but are quite small as yet.

The Hudson Bay Company transact nearly all the foreign and domestic trade. The Company derive great profit from the business, and at the same time accomodate the inhabitants of the Territory, who are all agriculturists and mechanics without capital sufficient for commercial pursuits. On our arrival we found the country dry and parched. We have recently had a week of warm rainy weather. The grass has commenced springing up and looks much like our Wisconsin prairies in May. The leaves of such trees as shed their foliage are yellow and beginning to fall. The kinds shedding the leaf are oak, a species of maple, alow [willow?], box wood, hazel, elder, &c, all small and scrubby, compared to those in the states except elder and alder, which here grow quite large. Notwithstanding the ease with which the necessaries of life are acquired, I never saw a more discontented community, owing

principally to natural disposition. Nearly all, like myself, having been of a roving discontented character before leaving their eastern homes. The long tiresome trip from the States, has taught them what they are capable of performing and enduring. They talk of removing to the Islands, California, Chili, and other parts of South America with as much composure as you in Wisconsin talk of removing to Indiana or Michigan.

Almost the first man I met on my arrival, was J. M. Weir formerly of Indiana, who served with me in the Rangers. I also hear of Lancaster Clyman,¹¹⁴ who is married and settled some 40 or 50 miles up the Willamet. I expect to see him this week. It is said that he is doing well.

You recollect the large stories we used to hear respecting the immense size and height of timber in this country. The largest timber I have seen is an evergreen of the fir kind. One tree that I measured a few days since, is six feet four inches in diameter and 268 feet long. The tree was felled with an axe last summer. The firr is of two kinds, white and red; both good for timber and lumber, and generally splits easy, making the neatest rail fences I have ever seen; it has the appearance of being durable. This is the season for sowing wheat; all the farmers are busily employed, it having been heretofore too dry to sprout the grain. The farmer can sow wheat from August until June, with a certainty of reaping a fair compensation for his labor. The straw of that sown in May grows very short which renders it difficult to harvest. That sown early and in good order grows large and long, measuring 5 and 6 feet, and in some extraordinary cases, it has been known to measure 7 feet in length, with a proportionable length of head. The grain or berry of all that I have seen is remarkable for its round plump form.

The small Canada corn comes to perfection; oats likewise grow well; Irish potatoes are of a fine quality and yield abundantly. The streams I am told never freeze over, nor does the snow cover the ground more than 3 or 4 days at any one time during the winter. The open or prairie valleys are small, almost all the uplands are covered thickly with the loftiest firr. The earth is thickly covered with bogs, underbrush, and the male fern called by some brake. It grows in many places up to my shoulders, and so thick that I found it impossible in some instances to break through it.

I have crowded all I could on one sheet which I send by Mr. Perkins of the brig Columbia, bound to Oahoo on the Sandwich Islands,

¹¹⁴ This may be James Clyman's brother. His name appears in Bancroft's list of the 1843 immigration as "L. Clymour."

whence I hope it will find its way by the whalers to Boston or some other port in the States. You may not hear from me again until I reach California.

JAS. CLYMAN.

[Continuation of the Diaries]

- 28 The morning Foggy day Fair
- 29 Slight Showers through the night and in fact continued all day
- 30 Rained all night slight showers through the day
- 31 Riary and windy most of the night the winds so far from the S. W. morning still and foggy But cleared off in the Forenoon & continued clear & warm all day

1844

Friday the 1st November fair and warm the Hazel & willow beginning to shed their Leaves

2 Left the falls & rode out westwardly 20 miles to the Twalitine Plains over an undulating Firr Plain in many Places Quite open soil a dark red clay the planes themselves are fine open Prarie of good deep clay Loam solil Staid with a M^r Pomroy [Walter Pomeroy] who has a farm of 180 acres in cultivation this day was fair

3^d it rained several Showers through the night But cleared away in the morning Passed nearly through the Twalitine settlements containing about Sixty families all appearing in a thrifty condition thiere farms on rich smoothe clay Prairie Had a Beautiful view of Mount Hood clothed in his white mantle of snow & Looking out far above a girdle of clouds that wrap^d. his icy sides.

4 Pased through several Beautifull small Praries most of which are claimed & on [which] some fair sized Farms have commenced which shew that the occupants have been handsomely Rewarded for their labour crossed the three Branches of the Twalitine River all narrow streams but deep as our horses had to swim and we passed over on some (of) long Firr trees which had been felled across them Pased through the Chehalem vally a high open vally about a mile wide extending from the South Branch of Twaletine to the Yam Hill river which is likewise a Tributary of the wilhamet this vally is bounded on the east with high rounded rang of hills well set with fine green grass and covered thinly with short Junts of shrubby white oaks on the west it rises up into a much higher range of hills thickly cowered with tall Firr timber

5 Crossed a range of high rounded hills covered with excelent grass and where it had been burned 16 or 18 days it was now green

and fair pasturage that which had not been burned of was likewise green & good grazing crossed the Yam Hill Rivir about Twelve Rods wide deep & naverageable for smal Boats haveing a range of new farms both up and down on the Prairies near the stream came up in the evening at Mr. Mannings¹¹⁵ who came out with the last years emigration but who has a fair start for farming haveing raised about 300 bus^h of wheat sown in May last on new Broke Prarie In crossing the Hills spoken of we passed immediately through several clouds or banks of thick misty fog so thick that we could not see scarcely two rods around us and nearly dark as night & when all at once we passed out into open Sunshine immediately around us the Fog being above below and all around us in thick dark fleecy clouds arising into the upper atmosphere and passing off to the N. E. and reathing around the lower parts of Mount Hood while the top appears to enjoy almost an Eeternal sunshine to give Beauty to its glaziers

6 spent the day with M^r Manning it rained all the afternoon walked around with our guns But had no success in hunting the deer appear to be plenty But confined themselves to the thickets which are allmost impassable through this whole region of country

7 Showers of Rain fell during the Day

8 Cloudy without rain a white frost last night

9 some rain last night with slight showers through the day—visited several Neighbours all Buisy and appear to be doing well though several are dissatisfied and talk of callifornia

Sunday the 10 A Dense Fog covered the whole vally of the Yam Hill & Willhamet rivers and fell almost like a rain about noon the fog arose & we had a Bright sunny after noon walked out over a fine rounded ridge covered with green grass now springing up Beautiffully & haveing the appearance of wheat fields in the states at this season of the year from the top of this ridge I had a Beautifull extensive view of the yam Hill Stretching away to the N. W. untill it mingled with the Brown roling oak hills rising into the dark green Firr mountains beyond the vally itself covered in a young growth of green grass the old haveing been burned off not exceeding Thirty days [ago.]

Turning to the East N. E. . & S & S. W. lay the wally of the wilhamet skirted with irregular Stripes of green Prarie lately burned off white not burned Brown oak timber yellow cotton wood the leaf not yet shed & deep grien the Firr an evergreen all handsomely Blended and extending Beyond vision near the cascade mountains whare a Blue Streak of Fog lay impenetrable to the sight

¹¹⁵ John and James Manning came in 1843.

11 Morning thick with light Shower of rain greate Quantities of wild geese seen flying & feeding on the young grass of the lately Burned Praries which are Quite tame & easily approached on horse back Light showers of rain fell during the day

12 Still continues showery The restless waves of the Pacciffic were distinctly heard at early daylight distan[ce] I could not assertain In the afternoon Several rapid Showers of rain fell

13 Continued Showers

14 A strong south wind blew all night with rapid shower of rain continued to rain but slaked off in the Evening

15 The fog hung aroud the Hills until about noon when it arose and the sun broke through the mist I again walked over the green hills which ware here and their dotted with cattle and horses feeding on the young grass now about three inches high and thick and as thrifty as the summer groth of the western Praries Likewise greate Quantites of water fowl seen on the low ground such as geese duck Brants and Cranes makeing fine amusement for the Sportsman

The grass does not coat as thick no[r] as deep on the earth as in the western Praries but on the contrary turns up fine and loose after the Plow it is Likewise loose and soft to walk over and greatly worked up by moles and mice and in many place by Burrowing squirrels which are now laid up being an animal that lies torped through the winter none are now seen although their has scarcely been frost enough to kill the tenderest vegetable The alder beginning to shed the leaf

16 It rained moderately all night and continued throughout the day

17 Sunday Lowry in the morning greate numbers of Snipe seen on the marshes Continued Showers of Rain all day

18 A strong south wind blew all night with rapid showers of rain which continued at interavails all through the day the water Fowle continue to come in in great abundanc Scarcely a day has passed since the rainy season commenced that the Rain Bow has not been seen & some days have given us a shew of Ten or Twelve in the course of a day and at times Three or Four in one hours time large and Beautifully curved and coulored

19 As usual it continued to Rain at intervals through the night the wind however veered to the west

20 The night Passed off without rain the morning a thick [mist] covered the vally with Fog about noon It commenced raining moderately and continued to rain the rest of the day

21 The Bats seen flitting about seeking their food every evening

The wind from the South it rained all the latter part of the night
Scattering portions of our Emigration coming in through the rain mud
and water completely prostrated and tired out

22 It still continues to Rain

23 Still continues to Rain but more moderately than the two
preceding days in the evening the wind veered to the west and it
ceased raining

24 Sunday Thick and cloudy without rain the cranes leaving
for the South rode out five or six miles through the valley of the
yam Hill river in many places the young grass was waving in the
wind the whole country clothed in young green grass

25 A strong south wind with thick mist descending at intervals
from the southern mountains

26 As usual a strong south wind with rain

27 The south wind with its regular attendant rain still continues
the waters much swollen and all the Lowlands overflowed and covered
with water Fowl fine for the sportsman I had been led to believe
from previous information that the winter rains had not yet commenced
on the 21 of October But all the old residents were mistaken for once

28 A Bostirous stormy night the wind shifting to westward
Blew a perfect Hurricane nearly all night with rapid showers of rain
This morning however the sun showed his countenance mild and pleasant
after his long absence a few light showers of rain fell during the
day

29 The sun shone nearly all day and the green hills showed to
great advantage A light white frost this morning all the streams
swollen out of their banks Lots of Cranes seen to day moving south-
ward This country has to me a strange but not unpleasant appearance
for the season the grass nearly as forward as June in Illinois
and waving in the wind dotted with cattle and horses feeding on the
young grass the mountains to the E however in many places are
white with recently fallen snow the alders and other timber that shed
the leaf are now nearly bare

30 Cloudy but not foggy as usual Mount Hood and some other
snowy peaks showed themselves at early Light but were soon shrouded
again in fleecy clouds the wind from the south with its constant
attendant rain in the afternoon

1844 Sunday Dec. the 1 It continued to rain in showers
through the night a thick rainy morning wind S. it continued to
rain through the day in Showers the hills slippery and the valleys
muddy our Emigration getting in nearly drowned and suffocated in

mud this season said to be the most rainy of any yet seen by the present inhabitants

2 Several showers of rain fell during the night and the morning thick and cloudy the sun broke through the clouds in the forenoon slight Showers with numerous rain Bows during the day full and Beautifully coloured this is certainly Extraordinary weather for Latitude Forty six and seven

3 Continued showers of rain

4 Same I noticed that Horses and cattle do not appear as gentle as in the states owning no doubt to the want of being handled sufficiently but animals have the inclination to go wild in a climate where there is no winter and are not dependant on their owners for forage but seek their own living at all times & all seasons

5 It did not rain last night and the morning was clear the Cascade mountains shewed off Handsomely in their white and green drapery it remained clear all day but so moist is the Earth and atmosphere that the dew did not dry off of the green grass even on the Hills The water in the river falling and the low grounds begin to shew themselves greate Quantities of water Fowl still seen on the praries

6 a rainy Morning Caught what is here called a gopher or Camace rat [*Thomomys*] a Burrowing animal living underground much like a mole. This animal measures 14 inches in length exclusive of the tail which is 5 inches long round and without hair colour a pale purple or mouse colour except the feet which are white and delicately made The Body heavy strong built mouse eared eye small and black hair fine like a mole head large and strong 2 Large strong teeth projecting far forward from both the upper and under Jaws the skin of the head loose and capable of moving forward and forming an extensive pouch around the front teeth the hole to the mouth small and the mouth itself small and far back into the throat where are a set of fine teeth five to each side 20 in all

This animal makes its living on roots and is rarely seen above ground excpt when driven out by high wates

7 Light showers of Rain wind South as usual when wee are sure of rain More or less numerous rain Bows seen to day

Sunday

8 Morning fair with as light white frost and extremely heavy dew which hangs in large drops even on dry shrubery

9 Several Showers of rain fell during the night and a thick foggy morning fleecy clouds of fog asending and Decending all through the day

10 Bosterous windy rainy night But a fair day

11 A Rainy night which continued thouout the day Considerable injury was done by the late Freshet heard of 1000 or Twelv Hundred bushel of wheat being lost in the graneries on the low grounds of the Wilhamet Likewise large lots of fencing & in some instances hogs and other stock being drowned or carried away by the water

12 A light white frost this morning and a pleasant fair day verry still the waves of the paciffic heard distinctly most of our emigration arived at Fort Vancouvre

13 A thick Fog rests on the Earth this morning which continued all day But no rain fell The high water is still abating slowly in the river

14 Foggy and a thick mist rests on the face of the waters which are under the Firmament of Heaven continued thick and foggy all day But did not rain still without a breeze to tell the course of the wind

15 The Sun again Broke through the thick mist and removed a slight white frost which shewed itself this morning the fog however soon returned and continued floating around the remainder of the day

16 Thick and Foggy with a strong appearance of rain

17 It rained some through the night But most of the day was pleasant several light shower fell in the afternoon and shewed several Beautifull rain Bows

18 Rained nearly all days moderately untill evening when it slaked up for the present

19 A Rainy night and a Rainy day likewise windS.

20 The wind blew a gale from the S. W. all night and there is a slight appearance of clear weather this morning about 11 oclock the fog disperced and the sun broke out fine and clear Noticed young thistles strawberries and a thick groth of other vegitables beginning to start the grass dose not rise up but spread[s] itself over the sur-vace of the ground much like winter grains in the states

21 A fine clear morning Black birds Snipes and other marsh Birds in greate numbers on the low lands this day was clear and fine throughout and remarkably pleasant

22 Thick and Foggy and the afternoon rainy

23 some light showers of rain fell during the night morning dark and cloudy Evening rainy

24 It rained nearly all night at early light we saw all the higher hills covered in snow but none in the vallies the most of the snow melted off during the day which was fair but not cleare

25 A Blustering windy rainy night succeded our Christmas and

the morning was of the same material rain hail and snow with the usual accompaniment a strong South west wind the hills whitened again with snow Continued showers of rain and hail and snow throughout the day which melted and disappeared as fast as it fell

26 A strong south wind all night all the new fallen snow has again disappeared

27 Considerable rain fell last night this morning however the clouds arose and gave us a view of mountains again which shew some of the recently fallen snow

Cloudy wind South and Quite warm both day and night

28 Night Rainy and warm Bats seen flitting about the house seeking their food continued to rain in rapid showers most of the day

29 Remains Cloudy with rapid showers wind south with an occasional shift to s. W.

30 No alteration but still continues to rain rapidly in showers wind South

31 Continued the same

1845 January the 1st

At Early day light it was Raining but slaked up at noon the wind veering to the west the afternoon was pleasant

2 no rain fell during the night the morning overcast but pleasant the day passed off without Either wind or rain and the Lowing of cattle and the song of several birds sounded not unlike spring

3 A Fair morning and Quite warm and pleasant if it was not for the water that almost covers the Low grounds wind southe I noticed my fine american mare this morning which was bearily able to walk on my arrival here in october and is now in good work order without a particle of grain the evening closed without rain

4 Cloudy wind South afternoon rainy

5 Sunday a rainy night and the morning ditto the rain slackd up in the afternoon

6 Morning fair which proved fair throughout the day and pleasant for Oregon in January

7 Overcast and cloudy

8 Morning Clear with a stiff white frost remained clear throughout the day

9 Foggy without rain helped to raise a cabin in the neighbourhood the sun shone in the evening the melting off of the mountains occasioning a freshet in the river the old settlers say that this is the wettest winter they have yet seen some haveing been in country for 8 and 10 years

10 Foggy without rain the Earth becomming more firm as the

water leaves it the day closed without rain

11 very much the same as yestarday wind South

12 Clear and Beautifull

[The following account is written in a different ink in a portion of another note-book, sewn by hand into Book 4 of the diaries.]

[*The Oregon Trail*]

In passing through this country on the usual rout no Land is seen that will bear cultivation after pass[ing] the main divideing ridge seperating the waters of the atlantick and the Pacific untill you arive on Bear River whare some small vallies of appearantly cultivateable land are found But here the winters are cold and occasionally deep snows fall Timber is also inconvenient none being found Except in higher and more ruged parts of the mountains there occasional spots of good timber occurs of Pine Firr & Cedar on the lower Hills. However considerable stocks of cattle might be kept on the vallies of Bear River and weebers river on the lower vallies near the greate salt Lake and a resting place might here be made that would very much assist Emigrants and others passing to and from the states to all parts of the Pacific Country the rout to california would seperate from the rout to oregon at this settlment allso—Aand here should be a military post Established and Perhaps [this] is the cheapest Place to support a Military Post on the Present rout if the head of the Lake dose not fall in to the Mexican Teritory A Low range of mountains divides Bear River from Snake River

Snake River Issues from the Mountains 80 or 100 miles above Fort Hall and soon passes out in to a wide vally being in many places from 40 to 60 miles wide mostly a dry arid sand plane covered with a Strong groth of wild Sage and prickly pears the lower vally However is well clothed with grass espically on the moist ground and near the water [is] a thick groth of small willows with an occasional grove of cottonwood The Hudson bay co. who occupy Fort Hall keep a large Herd of cattl in this vally which do well and Furnish the fort with the fines of Beeff in the fall season These cattle as Likewise a large herd of horses live well through the winter without any food except what they obtain by their own industry on the Praries In the head or Eastern part of this vally stands the three Tetaws which are very high steep conicle Mountains (the) appeareantly rising out of an undulated plain and so high that their summits are covered with Eternal snow and frost and may be seen from a great distanc from the S. W. and west The three butes Likewise stand in this vally nearly opposite or North of Fort Hall and are rounded Detached conicle Hills Likewise But of no greate

hight and are formed of rounded water worn rock Clay Pumice stone and obsidian [obsidian] the latter resembling Black glass which is here found in great abundance and has formerly been the place where the Natives manufactured great Quantities of arrow points and other instrument of offence and defense the fragments of which lay thickly strewn over the surrounding plain continuing down West from the Buetes you come to the most recent appearance of an active volcano that is to be seen in this volcanic region here all the rocks have been in a state of complete fusion and at so late a period that not a particle of vegetation has commenced to grow the Craters appear different from any that I have seen on Record these being holes in the valley all others seem to have arisen above the surrounding country the Scorie of these holes or craters seem to have been almost entirely composed of compact granite and several of the holes are some hundreds of feet deep mostly of a circular form the edges tops sides and Bottoms formed of a ragged Black slag and give a keen sonorous sound when struck together the slag in many instances being quite porous

The extent or number of these holes I cannot tell to any certainty but I should think they extended some 15 or 20 miles in Length in a N. E. and S. W. direction and from 6 to 8 miles cross wise none of which tract can be passed over with the utmost caution by a man on foot on account of the loose and ragged form of the slag and the numerous rents holes pits and chasms which intersect you in all directions In passing over this slag all the small fragments that become detached drop immediately down and go ginging amongst the opposing rocks below sometimes to an immense depth before they find a resting place in fact I broke loose some pieces and threw them into the fissures which continued to strike and rebound until they went entirely out of hearing near the western side of this field of Slag rises a rugged steep and high mountain composed of a rough greyish granite nearly bare of vegetation and in many Places the field of Slag and the mountain approach so near that it was with great difficulty that our pack Horses could find sufficient room to pass and near this western side I observed a great many large masses of this granite rock standing in all inclinations between perpendicular and Horizontal and had the appearance of having been afloat in the liquid mass the more weighty parts having sunk and shot up the lighter end and the Slag cooling left the rocks as they are now seen standing the heat not being quite intense enough to melt the whole mass on the under side of these masses However the liquidated slag is left hanging in great Quantities of rounded globules just in the form that they cooled some nearly ready

to drop off numerous brooks and springs fall from the mountains in the slag and are immediately lost in the loose Slag and most probably find their way into snake river some 60 or 80 miles S. W. where a number of spings break out of the most magnificent kind and of the largest dimentions in beautifull gushes and columns of snow white spray some of these fountains throw several tuns of water per minuit cool & pure as crystal on the whole This valy presents many large and Spendid attractions for the Geologist as well as the almost unfathomable depth of the Kenyon that this river fall[s] into immediately below and which falls and cascades commence at the American Falls at the Lower end of the vally From the american Falls to Fort Boise a distance of 300 miles you pass over a dry dusty and in some places sandy as likewise in many places Rocky country bearing but little grass or Timber wild sage Prarie thorn &c making the general vegetation Travelers usually pass through this region as fast as they conveniently can there being no game no grass of consequence Except salmon in their proper season when Quantities are taken and can be had of the Indians for a mere trifle while Fresh

Fort Boise stands on the North Bank of Snake River a few miles below the mouth of the Boise River the great Woile [Owyhee River] Falling in on the oposite side a short distance above allso the surrounding country dry and parched grass and Timber being verry scarce in the vicinity of the Fort and no cultivatiabale land seen in the neighbourhood considerable stocks of cattle and Horses find good grazing in the vicinity as I noticied the cattl in particular ware fine and fat several Butes of considerable hight rais their dark looking summits to the south W. of the fort and a range of bear moutains of considerable length and hight are seen to the S. and S.W. dividing the waters running into snake river and those runing into ogdens Lake and other parts of the vally of the greate salt Lake these mountains no doubt are connected withe the Blue mountains some distance to the west

some 50 or 60 miles below Boise snake River takes into the Blue mountains in these mountains is where M^r Hunt M^cKenzie and their party suffered so much as related by M^r Ervine [Irving] in his Astoria Nothing is seen in the shape or appearance of cultivatiabale Land on the present rout For nearly 200 miles west of Boise when you arive near the (the) head of Powder River a small stream running East ward into snake River and in full view of the Blue mountains you come to several small valies of fair soil and good grazing but no timber of use Except on the mountains. I do not think However that their is any Extent of arable land to be found here Two short camps brings you into the

grand round vally a Beautifull green spot in this region of interminable rocks dust and wild sage you are now fairly entered into the Blue mountains which Surround this vally on all sides the vally itself is nearly round and 16 or 18 miles across in either direction and has no doubt once been covered in water numerous small streams falling from the hills in all drictions and winding through the low grounds form a small River which has worn its way through the opposing rocks to a greate depth and takes a Northern course to the columbia as I am informed The winters are here Quite mild and the grass coming up in novembr remains green through the winter The Blue mountains are appearantly not verry high But the Ravines are steep and Rocky and generally covered tops and sides with a thick groth of Pine and other Eevergreen timber and Something the rise of 40 [more than 40 miles] across on the wagon trail which is a rough bad road for teams and scarce of both grass and water

The asent of these mountains on the western side is generally bear of Timber but thickly set with a nutritious kind of Bunch grass the utilla river running for some distance nearly paralell with the mountains on this stream (which in low water is a fine mill stream) is seen a narrow vally of good cultivateable soil bringing corn wheat & vegetables in good perfection The Skuse Indians cultivate some small spots which poduce well the usual rout passes down the utilla river to the columbia it is generally Believed that a greate number of small valies lie situated near the mountains on the South side of the (of the) Columbia but I saw no white man that had ever visited that region but I have no doubt of the correctness of this report Along and near the columbia River nothing can look more discouraging the river running in a deep chasm of nearly pependicular rocks Black and frowning with a scanty supply of grass and not a stick of timbr to relieve the continual monotony of Frowning rock or water with now and then a Field or mountain of sand to pass through Now having arived at the Delles whare you may rest a day or two with Mr Waller who is superintendent of the Methodist Mission at this place and is an accomodating man if he can be well paid but if you are scarce of funds you may hire an Indian to guide you over the cascade mountains or as we did guide yourself These mountains are 70 or 80 miles across by the way of the Trail verry thickly timberd. and Extremely steep rocky and rough The columbia on its entrance into the mountains passes through a verry dangerous rapid called the delles whare the river is nearly choked by large masses of sunken rock which raise their black heads in the utmost confusion forming Tremendious whirlpools and are

nearly impassable in low water and in fact at all times some 50 or 60 miles below is the greater falls which are at all times impassable and where a portage or two has to be made by all the watercraft passing the river this last fall occurs 80 or 100 miles above Vancouver from this fall the river is clear of obstructions to its mouth for small craft and its navigation would be good for steam boats Likewise But no cultivateable land of any consequence is seen until you arrive in the vicinity of Fort Vancouver where the mountains recede and the coves and valleys begin to open out all the Best Prairies however are occupied by the H. B. Co. who carry on farming on a Large scale in the vicinity of the fort and in fact continue to extend their agricultural pursuits as the Furs and peltries decrease The Cascade mountains are one of the greater chain of mountains which stretch themselves through nearly the whole length of North America commencing near the Gulf of California they keep a northern direction Dividing the Californian valley from the valley of the greater salt lake a chain however diverges from this chain some where in Lower California and taking an Eastern direction bounds the greater salt Lake valley on the south and dividing that from the valley of Rio Colorado and continuing East and N.E. by the head of Green & Bear rivers it unites with the greater dividing ridge near the head of Snake River

The Blue Mountain chain separates itself from the Cascades near the head of the Clamet and Umpqua rivers and perhaps for some distance bounds the valley of salt or the greater salt Lake valley on the north to near the head of the Willamette and River de Shutes where the Blue Mountain chain inclines to N. and another chain branches off to the East dividing the greater salt valley from Snake River and continuing E. and N unites with the last mentioned chain near the head of Snake River also The Blue chain continuing almost to the Columbia then turning short to the east Snake River bursting through this chain in the curve falls into the Columbia the mountains continuing their eastern Direction dividing the waters of Snake and Salmon Rivers unite(s) with the main chain also near the heads of the Southern Branches of the Missouri and North of Snake River to These may be added a low chain of mountains lying on and near the coast of the Pacific Broken through however by the Columbia near the Umpqua the Clamet and several other rivers

Having never traversed any portion of the country north of the Columbia I will not attempt to give any description of the mountains of that part of the country

The valleys are said by some to be good & are represented as being

quite large and finely clothed with grass at one of the H. B. Cos. Estalishments I am informed that Thirty thousand sheep are kept and in fact a greate number of Sheep and cattle are kept at all Their Trading posts north of The columbia and more paticularly on Peugetts Sound these sheep are of the spagnish breed they yield a large fleece of coars wooll which is sent yearly to England and there manufactured into Blankets and other coarse clothes for the supply of their numerous Trading Establishments in all parts of their extensive trade to the north The H.B.Co. Likewise keep a steam Boat running in Peugetts sound to facilitate their (their) trad amongst the numerous bays and Isleands on that coast and carry on a profitable trade with their Neighbours the Russians on Both continents

The Navigation of the Columbia is not verry good and more particular neare the head of the Bay whare the channel is narrow crooked and interrupted by Bars & sand banks

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[Geography, Products and Government of Oregon]

I now come to speak of the Willhamet vally in and near the mouth of this River are several Large Islands these Islands are good soil and fine grazing but mostly overflow in the winter and spring freshets as Likewise do all the point of land forming the Junction a fine situation is found however immediately below the lower mouth of the Willhamet good water and a good landing but this place is not easily approachable by land and is far from any considerable cultivateable country The Killimook mountains approach nearly to the water on the west or right hand side of the Willhamet as you assend and all the uplands even to the mountains top are covered with a magnificent and lofty groth of Firr Timber These mountains Extend west to the coast and South nearly to the falls a distance of some 20 miles and are generally verry steep rocky and rugged the Tuallata River takes its rise in these mountains & Running S.E. and E. falls into the Willhamet 2 miles above the Falls on the Branches of this stream & nearly west of the falls lies Quite a large fine Prairi called the Twallata plains this beautifull plain contains upwards of 200 families mostly american

This Plain is a kind of cove or vally and is bounded on the N. N.W. and west By the Killimook mountains on the East by the Tuallatine Hills and the South by the Jahalem hills the last mentioned Hills are generally Beare of Timber and are excelent pasture lands passing South on the west of the Willhamet Jahalem or Chehalem vally occurs this vally is small compared to The Twalatine but contains some 30 or

40 Farms continueing south over a steep narrow range of Bald Hills an hours ride brings you to the Yam Hill vally or country and From off of the last mentioned you have no mountain or Hill to intercept the view the vally extending south as far as the farthest extent of vision the Mountains However bind you on the East and west that is the Cascades with their snowy peaks on East and the Killimook rang on the west This vally is here not short of Fifty miles wide and perhaps one Hundred and Fifty in length numerous Brooks and rivulets meander their way in various directions through the vally from the neighbouring mountains on either side of the Willhamet and when necessary can easily be converted into the means of driveing all kinds mchineery that be found usefull for a greate manufactureing community

I will now take a glance at the willhamet vally on the East side of the river after passing the overflown Lowlands near the Junction of the Rivers an undulating or rather hilly Plain occurs covered with Large Firr and other evergreen Timber interwoven with Hazel Dwarf maple and other underbrush for 20 or 30 miles that is to the Klackimus a rapid rocky stream about 60 yards wide taking its rise from the snowy peaks of (of) the Cascades on this stream are several small Prairies as Likewise a fine Salmon fishery whare greate Quantities are anually taken at the Junction of this stream with Willhamet is a Bad shallow rapid Formed by the Rapid wash of the Klackimus as Likewise from the deposits thrown from the Falls of the willhamet (which) only one mile above [which] you Find the Praries untill you pass The Moleally rivir a Strong Rapid stream draining the snowy peaks of the cascades Likwise and entering willhamet 20 miles above or South of the Falls This stream [is] 60 or 80 yards wide and scarcely ever fordable But haveing passed this streame you immediately enter on the praries as Likewis the oldest and most numerous settlement in the Teritory this settlement composed of mostly French and civilized Indians is organized into a county called Champooick and contains the catholick and Methodist Missionary station in this vally of which I shall speak Hereafter From the Moleally the Praries Extend south perhaps 200 miles to the Kalapooya mountains this range which I shall speak of again divides the Willhamet vally from the Umpqua vally From the commencement of the Praries the Settlnent Extends to the Santaam one of the principle Tributaries of the willhamet a distance of some 50 miles

South of the Santaam the vally becomes verry Extensive and may be near 100 miles wide E. & W.

I now may speak of the government which is provisional and has only Existed for the year past The Executive has consisted of three persons one Elected as president the other two as assistants with a Ligislature consisting of nine members all Elected to serve for one year only and untill others are Elected and Qualified The Judiciary [consists] of one Judge and one shirriff who officiate throughout all the organized counties which amount to Five namely Clatsop at the mouth of the columbia Klackimus From the mouth of the willhamet to the Moleally on the E. side of the willhamet Twalata on the west side of the Willhamet shampooik on the E. and yamhill on the west no organization haveing taken place north of the columbia The present Laws However make a considerable change making but [one] govornor or Executive head with an increas in the Legislative Body of six members and a provision for a Militia organization

The Laws of Iowa have been adopted and a number of acts or Laws passed by the provisional Legislature of oregon The claim Laws allow every man 640 acres the claiman must build a cabbinn on his claim within two months after his haveing taken possession and must be a resident by himself or by a Tenant his claim must be square or oblong the [lines] running North and South and East and West if the nature of the country permit By a Resselotion of the Legislature last winter the provisional government is Extended over all the country East whose waters flow into the Pacific North to Latitude 54.⁴⁰ or the line agreed upon Between The United states and the Russian governments and South of Lattitude 42 or the line agreed upon between the United states and the Mexican governments Some alterations However will take Effect this season the Legislature will consist of 15 members and one governor in place of the former council of three The other officers cosist of one clerk of the court and one Treasurer Elected For one year Likewis and one Assessor the shirriff being Collector and here let me remark that The Hudson Bay company (have) whare their Intrest or Establishments have fallen into any of the organized counties have entred heartily into the organization themselves with all their influence amongst the French and Half Breeds and (and) their influence and Example has had a remarkable good effect and has assisted much to the Establment of the present Provisional government such as it is

The commerce of the country has been so far carried on mostly by the H. Bay Company and previous to the arival of the american Emigration of 1843 the country appears to have been well supplied with all the merchandize necessary for the population But since the

arival of the last American emigration goods have become scarce and the price nearly doubled

the closing of the Methodist missionary Establishment has likewise withdrawn a small but active capital from the trade of the country and at present I see no immediate prspects of the Establishment of capital in the country The Exports of the country consist mostly of wheat and Flour carried to the Pacific Islands and the Russian settlement on this continent this with fish and lumber taken to the pacific Island constitute the present commerce of the country with the white inhabitants the Indian trade in Furr and peltres is exclusively carried on by the H. B. C°. The present cultivation of the country is confined to the raising of wheat and peas both of which grow to greater perfection here than any place I have heretofore seen and considerable Quantities of wheat is yearly wasted after furnishing all that is required for the Limited commerce of the country and for fattening pork for home consumption in fact all the domestic stock that is fed at all is fed with wheat and wheat and Flour might and no doubt will in the course of time be Exported to an immense amount when the agriculture Trade and commerce of the country shall be properly opened and Encouraged Corn the western americans main crop dose not succeed well on account of the coolness of the nights which are never warm even in the middle of summer Fruit apples pears plumbs peaches &c &c yeeld in profusion but are as yet of an ordinary Quality being small and hard Timber the most common timber is the Fir which grows in astonishing quantities and of immense size and Length many trees measureing over 100 feet of clear Timber and producing in good grooves From 20 to Thirty thousand Rails from one acre and it is quite common for one man to chop & split 300 rails per day Labour is very high common Labour commanding from thirty to fifty dollars per month and mechanic labor commanding from two to three dollars per day owing to the Kind of work and the Qualifications of the workman The pay however is in Merchandize of the produce of the country The nominal price of wheat is one dollar per bushel and merchandize at from one to two hundred percent proffit I neglected to finish the article of timber on the oposite page after the Fir which is of two kinds the white and the red pine comes next in importance Thire is of this too speeces Like wise the yallow and the spruce pines Both growing large and plentiful in some districts while cedar grows in small Quantities and is found generally difused Hemlock is also found in the mountains The yew an evergreen Likewis is found in rocky situations a spices of Laurel also resembling the laurel

of the states in appearance grows here to such a size as to make a valuable timber for furniture The oak is rather dwarfish and shrubby as Likewise is the ash but Enough of either is found for the implements of husbandry and mechanical tools &c &c Two or three Kinds of maple is likewise found here but they do not grow generally large and thrifty

The Alder of this Territory is large compared to that seen in the states The Bark is used for Tanning leather & the wood sawn & used in making furniture for which purpose it is considered very good several Kinds of [willows] are found some growing Quite large and in fact the willow seems to be more generally diffused on all Kinds of soil than any other Timber

A species of Hazel is also very common and is the only timber found suitable for hoop poles and is also the only Tree or shrub bearing nuts the nut much resembling a Small Filbert

Considerable Quantities of Berries are found in their proper season The strawberry & Huckleberry nearly the same as in the States

A Species of Blackberry and Raspberry. Barberry very sour. Thimble berry Fine acid. Sallal sweet & one or Two other Kinds of not much importance are occasionally found with goose berries and wild current make up the most of the Berries

The salmon Fisheries could and no doubt will at future period be made an object of (and) an Extensive trade carried on in and through the productions of the rivers a small species of oyster is found in some places on the coast but I could not learn that they were plenty no other valuable Fish enters the rivers of This Territory that I could hear of except salmon some whale are thrown on the coast every winter By the Storms

The seal is common on the coasts and in the bays and Rivers greater Quantities and greater varieties of water fowl is found in all parts of The open country during the rainy season such as the Swan the crane goose Brant and innumerable Quantities of Ducks with the wood cock and Snipe The soil is entirely clay even to the alluvial lowlands on the streams The Bars However in many places is gravel

The Rock is of The dark rough Basalt family and appears to have all been in a state of Fusion at some Remote period I did not hear of Lime Being found only at one place, That being near the mouth of the Columbia What has been used heretofore has been brought from the Islands as ballast on board of vessels

I did not see or hear of any coal sand stone or any other stratified Rock but various Qualities of clays are found in great abundance

The animals are Panthers several kinds of wolves The Black the yellow grey and spotted all large and traubelsome killing hogs cattle and even in some instances horses and mules The small Prarie wolf is likewise numerous I saw no foxes The Wild [cat?] is not numerous plenty of Elk are found in the mountains and deer in all the Thickets water fowl is plenty Beyond all conception in the rainy season all the Lowlands being litterly covered the[y] all move to the north and east during the months of April and May The Land Fowl are the Firr grouse the Pheasant and Quail as kikewise the meadow lark which are found in greate abundanc on the open lands a few of the Red brast wood pickers and sparrow are also seen The condor The Buzzard the Raven and crow with several speses of Hawks most of which are Plenty the Hawks feed mostly on mice & moles both of which are numerous

several Kinds of squirrels areseen all of which Burrow in the earth and lie torpid in the rainy season some lay up seed to live on others come out verry lean being nothing but skin and bone

The Quantity [of water] that pours from the mountains on either side in to the Willhamet vally is truly astonishing every 8 or 10 miles Brings you to a river and brooks innumerable I can give no Idea of (of) the length of This vally as yet but shall probably have a much Better oppertunity in our rout through and this will be seen in my day Journal

[Then follow six blank pages and a page containing the name:]

Elijah White
Lansing Ville
Tompkins Co
N. Y.

[This completes the matter on the leaves sewn into the journal. The diary then continues:]

13 [Jan. 1845] Slightly cloudy with light showers of rain or mist passing

14 It rained som last night But cleared off in the morning with a cool wind from the norgth

15 Clear and beautifull with a stiff white frost and some ice on Shallow water

I now witnessed the catching and branding of a lot of wild cattle about 500 ware drove in to a strong pound and 4 or 5 men well mounted rode in to the pound the animal to be taken being pointed out some one went full speed amongst the herd and threw a rope with a almost dead certainty a round the horns or neck of the animal the cord being made fast to his saddle Bow he stoped his horse and checked the speed of the animal and if his horse was not sufficantly strong 3,

4 or 5 other men threw their cords on the animal then putting spurs to their horses they dragged him out of the pound by main force and hampering his legs with cords they threw him then Butchered or branded him as the case might be

From information I found that in this settlement caled yam Hill their was owned and runing in the hills about Two thousand head of wild cattle and about as many called tame which tameness consists in thir being able to ride amongst them and drive them conveniently nearly whare you wish the main bulk of these cattle are owned by Five individuals the other settlers being wrthless citizens or late imigrants which have but small stocks of Ten Twenty or thirty head

16 Cool and chilly light showers of rain and hail

17 Fogy with light misty showers of rain the [sun] shone the most of the afternoon

18 A Regular days rain

19 Same

20 Stormy with wind and rain

21 some snow fell on the mountains last night

22 continued Showers all night

23 Regular Showers in continuation

24 Showers grow lighter & less

25 Fine and warm and clear

26 Sunday morning pleasant continued fair

27 strong winds from the s. s. W. and W. with light showers of rain

28 Beautifull clear with a light frost we had a view of some of the mountains again during the day which had been closed for the last three weeks with fog and rain

29 Wet snow & rain

30 showers wind variable s. SW and W.

31 Cloudy wind S.W.

Feurary the 1st 1845

Several showers of rain and wet snow & several rain Bows

2 The same wind S.

3 Thick and cloudy with a slight Drizzilling raian

4 Fogy with a tremendous heavy dew this morning wind South

Afternoon clear and warm —

5 Morning Fogy afternoon clear

6 a white Frost cloudy

7 Fair and warm

8 Fair Balmy and warm

9 Same willows Alders & some other early vegetation beginning to Bloom

10 rainy

11 Fair But not clear

12 rainy

13 Heavy showers of Rain

14 Low grumbling thunder with rain

15 Rapid Showers

16 Same the earth covered with water

17 The rain ceased some what

18 Fair I noticed several of the Early summer birds were chirping in the thickets

19 Cloudy Evening Rainy

20 same Showers

21 do do

22 same this day fulfills the four months rain and yet no immediate appearance of clear weather

23 strong west winds commenced blowing last night and still continues attended with rapid showers of hail and rain

24 A stiff frost last night the day Quite pleasant but clou[dy]

25 Cloudy & cool

26 same with Showers of rain

27 Fair

28 Showers wind west

Saturday 1845 March the First clear and handsome and we enjoyed the fine day after the long rainy season which we hope is now passed away for this season the hills are now fast becoming dry green and pleasant the grass which spread itself so nicely over the surface of the earth last fall is now beginning to shoot up and lengthen out

2 Clear and handsome

3 do wind West

4 Rain cold & Blustering

5 Clear cool N. wind

6 Clear with a white frost the Eternal snow cap^d. mountains glittering in bright sun Shine

7 Clear & Beautifull with a stiff frost

8 Fair wind west — —

9 Fair do N. W

10 Clear and fine Wind North

11 do do W North

12 Clear & Beautifull I had a Sunset view of the Cascade mountains binding the vally on the East for a great length and in their dark green livery with now and then a high peak shooting his white snow clad [head] far in to the regions of eternal frost while the lower vallies show all the active indications of spring or rather early summer

13 unusually Bright and clear the musketoos rather troublesome last night

Noticed 5 different kinds of small vegetables in full Bloom to day the [rain] on the first of this month leaving the low grounds nearly covered in water which has now all disappeared and left us fine smoothe Dry Prarie to pass over and the Plow is now running whare one week since it was covered in water

14 Clear wind north and verry d[r]ying vegetation comeing rapidly forward

15 no change Except the vally is some what Enveloped in smoke

16 same Quite warm

17 same do ditto The water fowl have nearly all left this vally and many of the summer birds Have arived and make the mornings cheerfull with their songs

18 Clear nothing can look more pleasant than clear weather does in this country the hils handsomly rounded smoothe and thickly clothed with green grass the sky intirely clear not a cloud to be seen but one continual bright sunshine from morning untill evening

19 Slightly Foggy wind west vegetation grows rapidly and a fair appearance of summer

20 Fair some appearance of rain

21 Fair I noticed the Maple and white oak bigen to shew the leak Strawberries in Bloom and the hills completely covered with small flowers mostly purple & yellow wind West & N.W.

22 Fair and pleasant

23 a heavy dew last night and a clear Beautifull day a person that has not seen this country can have no Idea of the verities of Beauties Exhibited here in a clear spring morning

Attended divine service at a neighbouring house a decent behaved congregation of Gentlemen ware prasant But few Ladies the service was performed by a gentleman of the Mothodist persuasion who gave good advice had some tolerable Ideas but seem to want language to expess them in And I must say that female beauty is not (the) exclusively confined to any particular region or country for here too may be seen the fairy form the fair skin the dark Eye and drk hair so beautifully dscribed by Byron displayed in the person [of] Miss

smith¹¹⁶ who I understood had traversed the interminable plains from the states here from here to Callifornia and from callifornia Back here again and is now Just swelling into womanhood with all the Beauties, if not all the accomplishments Belonging to the sexe

24 Clear & dry

25 A Light shower of rain fell last night which gives a deep colour to vegetation this morning the summer birds seem to enjoy the change by their buesy songs and continual chirping The hoarse notes of the firr grouse is heard makeing a Bass for the shrill medow larks tribble

26 Clear

27 Clear a light shower of rain fell last night Coll light showers of rain fell during the afternoon

28 Called on Dr. [Elijah] White Indian agent for the Teritory found the Dr. a plasant companionable man makeing out his dispatches for the Express soon departing for the states by the way of canada on my way passed the methodist mission Established by Mr Jason Lee who like many others made an unhappy selection nearly the whole of the mission houses having been overflown by the freshets during the last winter and much of their fencing carried away and one thousand Bushel of wheat destroyed Mr [Alanson] Beers occupied the mission hous all the members of the Establishment being scattered and mission opperations all stoped the soil of the mission farmes is [good] but the place wants verietiy being an uneven plain worn in gutters by the frishets from the river I did not heare of any advantages of any consequence that had resulted to the Indians from this establishment during its most flurrishing days but it apears that the most of the funds ware arppopated to individual speculation The day proved disagreeable and severall rapid showers of snow fell during the day which melted as it fell

29 morning Foggy cleard about noon made preparations to go by water to the falls of willhamet

30 cloudy wind s.W.

31 Rainy arived at the Falls

Tuesday April the First 1845 The second term of the circuit court opened its session for the county Klackimus and was attended by a small genteel well behaved audience the Judge Mr [James W.]

¹¹⁶ Probably a daughter of Andrew Smith who traveled to Oregon from Dayton, Ohio, in Elijah White's train in 1842. He accompanied Hastings part way to California the next year but turned back at the Rogue River, returning to the settlements with Joel Walker. There were two other Smiths with Hastings but neither of them had families.

Nesmith charged the gran Jury in a short but appropriate address

and here might be seen the greates and salatory effects of Temperance the Judge the sheriff and several of the Jurors having left the states their friend[s] society and civilization on the account of the demorilizeing effects of spiritous Liquor here whare no alcahall can be obtained they have become good intelegent industrious citizens accumelating property and filling the highes and most important offices in the Teritory with honor to themselves and the country they now have become citizens of [Oregon]

2 Continues Rainy

3 Cloudy

4 Clear & warm Left the falls to assend the willhamet by water our small canoe being only large enough to carry two men and thir Baggage the rocks close in near to the waters edge for about three miles above the falls whare the steep cliffs begin to recede and (and) the vally opens out to a considerable width the Twalatta river enters 2 miles above the falls and tumbles through the rocks in a succession of rapids which renders this river intirely unfit for navigation even for a light canoe about one mile above the mouth of the Tuallata is a considerable rapid in the willhamet whare several boats laden with wheat have been lost during the past winter this rapid however is not dangerous in low water and may be passed by steam boats at common stage 10 miles above the Tuallatta the Molelilla river enters from the east heading in the cascade mountains and is about the same size of the twallatta measuring about 60 yards wide but the latter stream discharges double the water of the former and is scarcely ever fordable the Twalatta being fordable in many places when low made about 20 miles and encamped the whole of the country seen from the river is thickly covered with Firr timbr and impenetrable under brush

5 Clear and warm about 9 oclock arived at champoeg here a village is laid out but nothing doing in the way of improvement this place is a dry sandy level a few feet above high water and is Twenty five miles above the falls a settlement of about Two Hunded families of Half breeds and canadian French reside in the vicinity stoped with Mr Newel [Robert Newell] the propietor who has been one of the Rocky Mountan trappers and 4 years since gathered his posibles his Flat Head wife and changed his precarious mountain life for a more certain means of subsistance in the Willhamet vally and has had the honor of being one of the members of the provisional Legislature for the past year

6 Cloudy I noticed several Beautifull flowering shrubs in thickets now in bloom and a Beautifull species of Humming Bird Hovering around them several showers of rain fell during the day

7 Fair and warm wind South Doct. McLaughlin arived here from above Few men can out do the venerable Doctor for philanthopy urbanity and Social conversation Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the venerable superintendant of the H. B. Co for his humanity and fostering care bstowed on the poor and wearied emigrants on their first arival in this country

8 Attended a convention for the nomination of governor and other Executive officers a Judge and several Military officers all apeared to go off fairly and without Difficulty The day pleasant and warm The Frenchman at whose house the convention was held has a beautifull young bearing apple orchard now casting the Bloom and shewing the young fruit

9 Clear and warm

10 Showery the hills which ware purple with flowers lately are now completely covered in yellow

11 Clear and pleasant

12 same A party for the states consisting of about 15 men assemble to day at the falls and will take their final leave in a few days

13 some showers of rain fell during the night the leaves on most of the Trees is now full grown

14 The morning clear I noticed severable fields of wheat narely knee high and many farmers have not commenced sowing as yet and some have not began to plow

15 Cool with light showers of rain mingled with hail The court for Yam Hill County met and adjourned without a case (bieing) being filed on docket

16 Cool and clear

17 Cool Light Showers

18 Cloudy most of the day

19 Clear with a cool Breeze from the N. W. Wholesome Exhilerating and pleasant to the lungs

20 A stiff white frost this morning cloudy & Quite cool

21 another white Frost and cool cloudy day greate Qwantities of geese and Brant passing to the N. at so greate a hight as to [be] allmost invisible allso greate Qauntities of Firr Grouse on the hills these grouse are fine eating & much resemble a Pheasant in appearance but are nearly double the weight of a Pheasant

22 Cool and Blustry after a rainy night

23 some Frost cool and clear

24 Rainy

25 Rainy The [sky] cleared off with a stiff west wind

26 Clear and fine

27 Cool and chilly clared off in the afternoon and shewed us the Low mountains covered white in snow a circumstance that hapened But one during the winter

28 The sun arose clear and splendid the afternoon was not so favourable for in swiming my horse over the Yam Hill river he got tangled in the willows near the shore and after a number of fruitly exertions to clear the brush and assend the nearly perpendicular bank he gave up to drown I swung from the canoe and taking the rope swam ashore one mor exertion with my help brot him out of the Brush and throwing the cord to the men in the canoe they landed safely on the oposite side we then mounted and rode Fifteen miles about 5 miles of which distance it Blew and rained without mercy and extremely cold directly in our faces

29 Frost this morning yestarday morning Likewise the day proved fair I staid last night with Mr Jacob Reed [Reid] who has a fine farm of 50 acres in wheat allthough he came to the [country] without friends in 1843 he has Likewise one of the most beautifull romantic building places I have yet seen in the country a clear spring of Limpid water breaking out in a grove of low gnarled oaks on a handsome assent surrounded by a high ridge of the same kind of land all smoothe and covered with a fine short grass surrounded by a much higher ridge of firr timber except to the west whare opens a rich level prarie sufficient fo a large farm the view bounded by the Killimook mountains at the distance of a few miles to the west

30 without Frost pleasant

Thirsday May the First 1845 Clear and pleasant wind west

2 Clear and pleasant The mountains have been hid in fog and clouds for some days past but opened handsomely to view again to day and seem to be covered with new fallen snow

3 Morning clear and cool with a heavy dew spent the day which proved to be verry fine in the novel occupation of dressing a Panther skin for a gun cover The forenoon was warm and sultry the sea brieze came up from the west early in the afternoon coal and pleasant and continued untill after sun set

4 Another clear day The oak leaves full grown and the oak is the latest of all the timber in this country goose Berries nearly

Large Enough for use The Farmers are still sowing wheat and will continue some time yet

5 Clear and warm to day commences the greate collection of wild cattle for the purpose of Branding and delivering all that have been solod or Traded for the last six months

6 same A Large dark cloud of smoke seemed to be hovering around the Icy pinicle of mount Hellen for some days past but whether it proceeded forom the crater or not I could not determin

the Hills have been for some days completely red with the clover now in full bloom

7 The wind Shifted to the south & it commenced raining in half an hour

the afternoon clear and cool went to M^r Jays to see the branding and marking of wild cattle saw a pound full containing some 5 of 600 Head and 10 or 12 men on horse back Lassing and dragging out by the saddle

8 Clear and cool Had a conversation with M^r. [Henry?] Wood who had just returned from a trip to Pugetts sound he informs me that he assended the Cowletts river in a canoe some 25 or 30 miles & found the stream deep with a strong current avarage width about one Hundred yards The Cowlets vally and settlement commences (commences) 25 miles up this stream forom the columbia the river banks high and dry the country back rough and mountainous and thickly covered with timbe[r] the Praries openes out in the vally and are beautiful and rich soil Size of the vally some 40- to 60 miles wide and 60 to 80 Long about one third smoothe Prarie the other two thirds thickly covered with fine timber mostly Firr Two other rivers head in this vally to wit the Jahalis and Black river Both Emtying in to the Pacific North of the columbia and discharging narly the same quantity of water as the Cowletts

He Likewise passed over the ridge into the vally near Pugetts sound called the Nesqually vally this vally Extends beyond the strech of vision in all directions Except to the East where it is bounded by the raged peaks of the cascade mountains through these However there is a good easy pass in the direction of Fort walla walla This last mentioned vally is well clothed in grass but timbr is scarce and but little seen excpt neare the mountains or bordering on and neare the streams this latter of a shrubby discription and not generally valuable the former good and valuable but in most places inconvenient

9 Visited M^r Waldows settlement the day proved showery and disagreeable Mr. Waldow [Daniel Waldo] has made his selection

in the Hills deviding the waters of the Moleally and the Santiam rivers and was last season the only person in the colony who cultivated the hill Land and in this experiment he succeeded admirably a small settlement is now around him extending their farms in all directions over the most beautifull tract of country sinking and swelling in regular rounded forms of all immaginary verieties finely interspersed with groves of oak and Firr Timbr and numerous springs of never failing clear water in many insances bursting out neare the top of the hills

Mr Waldow has a fine stock of the best blooded cattle I have yet seen in the Teritory

10 Appearance of Showers and in this we ware not disappointed for a number of rapid Showers fell during the day I rode through the entire upper settlements on the East of the willhamet and was highly pleased with the beautifull veriaty of hill and vally so softly varied and intermingled with hill and dale as Likewis timber and Prarie all luxuriently clothed in a rich and heavy coat of vegetation and litterly clothed in Flowers the upland in yallow and the vallys in purple The Quantity of small flowering vegettiles is very remarkable & beyond all conception

11 Clear and Fine some showers passed to the North

12 A slight Frost and a c[l]eare morning the afternoon cloudy

13 It rained moderately nearly all night It being the First warm pleasant rain we have had this season

14 The rain continued all night and all day likewise

15 Continues to Rain Moderately in the afternoon it ceased to rain

16 Morning clear and Bright Visited Dr White the [Indian Agent] and in walking over his farm we picked a few handfulls of ripe strawberries which grow here in greate abundance on nearly all the Prarie lands

17 Clear and Beautiful with fine warm weather My Dog had fine sport catching young Larks All those buisied in preparing for California who intend to make that trip this season the atmosphere very clear & Bright

17 Same

18 Same spent the day in writeing an answer to some Queries propounded by Dr White who leaves for the states on the hopes of obtaining the gubenatorial chair

[Among the Clyman papers found in the attic of Mr. Tallman's house was what appears to be a contemporaneous draft of the document written for White. It is in ink, in Clyman's hand, on five leaves, similar to those of the diaries, and is sewn together and labeled:]

OREGON

In your Request of May the 16 you ask me what I Think of soil I Believe the Soil to be very productive which has been well proved in all Instances that has come under my observation and I am Free to [say] it has all the appearances of being remarkably durable being formed allmost intirely of clay and decomposed vegitable matter

The climate is no doubt Beautifull Beyond all conception to an American in the dry season

The rainy season is verry disagreeable But the temprature is Remarkably even therer being no Intence warm weather nor extreme cold and this Equality of Temprature is no doubt conducive to health

Health. The Amercan and European population of this country seem To Enjoy remarkable good health in Fact far Beyond all my former observations considering the Hardshps and exposures they yearly undergo

scenery in this I know I shall want Language I[n] richness and variety of Scenery this county cannot be surpassed assend one of your smoothe Hand-somely rounded eminences and you have at once glance all the verietiy of Scenery that nature ever produced six or eight Heaven towring peaks are visable at once covered in eternal Ice and snow thier ruged time worn sides softened by Distance. your eye desending the region of bear Rocks and Nightly Frosts in a Broad Belt around the Peaks attracts your attention with lower peaks of the same attitude Still desending long ranges of deep green Firr clad elivations of great verietiy of shape and apearance Extend themselves to the right and left far beyond the strech of vision

The Eye still desending you catch the softly rounded grass clad hills with thier shrubby oak groves and Prarie vallies with various shades of green drapery untill at last your [eye] rests on the broad vally Striching itself paralell withe mountain

here too you have the verietiy of Timber and Prarie with all the meanderings of the large and small streams that wind and intersect the vally in all directions Bring your eye closer and you Distinguish farms and fields still closer and houses and herds appear and last not least of all a few horsemen are seen going like the wind over some smoothe Prarie and disappearing in an oak grove pardon me sir those rapid coursiers ware gentlemen and Ladies out on a ride of plesure

Timber Nature seems to have Reversed things allmost intirely here you have the noble ash. oak and maple dwindled down in to shrubs and dwarfs while the dwarfish Laurel and alder strech themselves up into valuable Timbrs and the still more dwarfish Hazel and Elder shoot up into usefull sized shrubs But the noble Firr of this country is beyon all conception there being Nothing in the states to bear any comparison But few of the Trees measuring iess than 100 feet of clear valuable Timbr and many going Far beyond this length and in many instances yielding from Thirty to Forty thousand rails from an acre [The following is crossed out, — "on the whole I do not know that I can give you a bette discription than to quote of stanza of native Poetry

The Firrs their length their extrem hight" etc. etc.]

as to the Rivers streams and water courses of this country they are admirably adapted in many instances for Hydraulic porposes and may be generally verry cheaply used for all the necessary machienery that will ever [be] required for even an extensive manufacturing community

But for navegation the rivers are generally to rapid and too many and to great obstuptions to ever make the inland navigation cheap easy or safe

as to naturael advantages so far as Subsistance is concerned such of the Territory as is cultivatable I have no doubt will yield Bountifully and many of the dry and arid portions would feed considerable numbers of the several kinds of domestic stock but taking the Territory as [a] whole seven Eights of it is mere wast land and never can support a civilized population you must consider all my former remarks confined to the west of the cascade mountains

as to national advantages I concieve they must be but few allowing the

settlements of the East to Extend to the Forks of the River Platte then you have Twelve Hundred miles of dry arid mountain Region to pass to arrive near the Blue mountain where Settlements may again possibly exist with a very few exceptions so that nature [has] thrown insurpassable objections to i[t]s becoming an integral part of the United states it may However and no doubt will strengthen the commercial relations with China Russia and the Pacific Islands and coasts

I am of opinion that a Section of Land ought and will be granted to all those who may be occupants of this Territory at or before the time of the establishment of the U. S. claim or previous to the organization of a Territorial government on account of their early movement. and unprecedented hardships as Likewise on account of the encouragements By all the movements in Congress in relation to the settlement and occupation of this remote part of the U. S. Territory

The appointment of officers I have always been favourable to the appointment of official agents from the Neighbourhood or country where their services were required and I think in this country of all others a selection from her own citizens would be best Qualified to give general satisfaction Both to the government and the governed

19 morning Quite warm the afternoon windy and cool

20 morning cool and clear the days begin to [be] very long

21 rain and hail cool & windy & disagreeable the flowers of this region seem to be well filled with honey but the bees are wanting

22 Continues cool with light showers of rain & hail

23 Cool and clear with a north wind about this time the farmers begin to think that all their spring wheat should be sown & but a few are still sowing and the crop is never entirely all finished until the first of June although you may commence sowing again by the first of august the rains having then entirely ceased the grain will not grow before october or when the winter rains again commence

24 Cloudy with the appearance of rain Received Letters of Introduction From Doct. McLaughlin and official Documents from Dr White directed to the authorities of California empowering myself to (to) inquire into the cause of the death of one of the Skyeuse chiefs¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Elijah Hedding, educated son of the Wallawalla chief, Pupeumoxox, was killed by Grove Cook at Sutter's Fort in a quarrel over a stolen mule. After returning to Oregon the incensed natives threatened to lay waste Oregon and to invade California with a strong war party. White, realizing the seriousness of the affair, sent letters to the Secretary of War (quoted in White, *A Concise View of Oregon Territory*, Washington, 1846, pp. 47-56, and in W. H. Gray, *History of Oregon*, pp. 399-404), to Larkin, to Governor Pio Pico, and to Captain Sutter. These three latter documents are not known to be in existence but some of the subsequent correspondence is printed below.

White requested that Cook, if guilty, should be brought to trial, but nothing came of the investigation which followed. The unavenged murder is said to have been one of the causes of the Whitman massacre and the disastrous Indian wars which followed.

[Letter from Sutter to Larkin regarding the Hedding affair]

[Larkin Documents III, 227, MS. Bancroft Library]

New Helvetia 21th July 1845.Thomas O. Larkin Esq^{re}. U. S. Consul

Dear Sir!

I received a letter of the U. S. Sub Indian Agent Dr. E. White from the Oregon Territory from the same Gentleman you will receive letters concerning the Wallawalla Affaire, likewise he wrote to the Government of California about the same. Dr. White writes me that he reported this affaire to the Secretary of War.

It is not unknown to you what happened here; but now I will give you every particulars: When this people arrived here, consisting out the Wallawalla Chief Piopiopio, and his Son Leicer [Elijah] educated by the Methodists on the Wallamett, the young Chief of the Skyuses, Capcapelic the Nez-perceze Chief, Latazi an other Chief with some people of the three different tribes amounting to about 36 Men, with their Women and Children. As I was acquainted formerly with this Dignitaries when I passed through the Oregon to fort Van Couver, I received this people well and with great Hospitality, gave them good Advice how to behalf them self in this country, and gave them in my Official Capacity Passports and Permission to hunt within the limits of my Jurisdiction and no further, Knowing very well that the would have plenty of Difficulty's if the would go in the Settlements.

Leicer the pupil of the Methodists behaved very saucy and haughty and more independent as the Chiefs, in the first place He Killed a young Man of his own people when encamped close by the fort, whose body was eat up by the Hogs, which was the discoverers. On the road from here to the San Joaquin he would have Killed an other of his people, if Mr. James Williams had not taken away his rifle in the Moment he wanted to Kill him, this boy was the terror of the old Chiefs he had the whole rule over them, and no doubt he would have become a great tyrant amongs his people. When I returned from Monterey the last Winter they was encamped again close by the fort, a good deal of Complains came in, by the people here, Mr. Grove Cook was among them, he claimed a Mule which they got from the Horsethiefs or the wild Horses, Mr. Cook could prove that the Mule was his property and they would not give her up to him, and Leicer told him to go and take the Mule when he is brave enough, taking his Rifle, and after a few Words leveled the Rifle on Cook. When I called them here to tell them in my Official Capacity to come here with all their Horses in my Corall, to part all the Horses which do not belong to them, out; and that they are entitled to some recompense for their trouble of getting

this Horses from the Horsethiefs or from the wild Horses; but the did refuse to give them up, saying that the Rule by them was, to Keep every thing what the can get in this Way.

When I was explaining to them that after the laws of the Country the would have to give up all the Horses which dont belong to them, and that I compell them to give them up. — then I was interrupted and called by Dⁿ. Pedro Kostromitinoff (the Russian Agent) who was on a visit here, I was about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour with this Gentleman, when we heard a shot, we went to see, and there was Leicer death, shot by M^r. Cook in my house, and in my Office in presence of about 15 foreigners and the Chiefs of these Indians, which fled imediateley and I did no more see one of them. Leicer called Cook a Lyar after or in a quarrel which they had together.—It was very disagreeable for me that this happened in my house. I though the Chiefs will come here and deliver the Horses, but the moved Camp and travelled fast the whole Night. The next Morning by day break I did send about 30 armed Men after them, to compell them to give up the Horses; but they could not overtake them and lost their tracks. They was encamped several days near M^r. Lassens farm about 100 Miles from here above in the Valley, they did not molest him at all, and they told him nothing what has happened here. I though all time that some of them would return here to see me; but they did not, Nearly all of them have a few head of Cattle to receive from me, for Leatherpantalons, Buffalo Robes, Rifle and some Curiosity's etc. for this they have all Orders to receive this Cattle at any time on my farm on feather River. — Doctor White speake of their property which they fled and left here, to give him an account of it; that is all what they left, and the best would be to sell their Orders to people of the Wallamett who intends to come here to buy Cattle, by presenting this Orders the Cattle will be delivered at anny time. —

Doctor White states also that they are very willing to give up the Horses which dont belong to them, or as many and as good ones, on Condition that their property be returned and the Murderer be delivered up either to him or to the Indians. — The Call the Name of (Cook) Knight. D^r. White say that Leicer (the pupil of the Missionary) was by no means viciously inclined, but we believe here all that Leicer was a great Rascal. —

I have the Honnor to remain with entire Respect

Your

Most Obedient Servant

J. A. SUTTER

[Rubric]

[Larkin's answer to White]

[Larkin's Official Correspondence, I, 44, MS. Bancroft Library]

Sir.

Your letter under date of May 16th 1845. by Mr. Clyman, I received to day.

I have heard of the death of the Indian, and Know the murderer, that is, I presume it's the same (you mention no name) I know but little how the murder took place, nor did I Know what tribe the deceased was from.

I cannot take up this affair, on your part, your letter does not come to me in an official shape; nor is it accompanied with documents, nor do you even name the murderer; you say Mr. Clyman will assist me, he can do nothing as a single man, nor has he and I right, to do in the case, what we may see proper as you mention.

I have no known authority to take up the person you mention, no funds to retain him, nor have I from any person orders to receive him: in fact, from your letter, I can do nothing

In my opinion, if in your letter to the Governor of California (which I shall send to him) you as an Officer of the United States of America, have made a formal demand for the murderer, and have pointed out what you want done; it will be attended to, the Governor, Pio Pico, will not let the affair pass in silence.

I shall with your letter send to the Governor, the copy of your letter to the Department in Washington, and request him to act in the case, as he may see fit.

You can from me say to the Father of the youth who was Killed, that he may, alone go from one end of California to the other in safety; and should he from you or the proper authorities of your part of the country, present themselves to this Government, he will be attended to, and justice done him both in the horrid case in question, and in the property he left here.

You can also say to the Father of the deceased and to the Chiefs of the Tribe, that they should by no means act premature in this business; justice may be slow, but it will be sure, untill they, or some proper person makes a demand on the Government of California, they cannot expect redress, and whenever they shall make this demand, they may depend on my attending to the case, to the best of my Knowledge.

The Chiefs of course are sorry and disappointed from the loss; should they come to California, to redress themselves, they would injure a people who not one in a hundred, Know anything about the

affair, and cause trouble to themselves and this Government, who I am sure will give them justice and satisfaction, when ever they demand it, should they commence a warfare against our Countrymen, it would end in miseries to hundreds of both parties, and no satisfaction be obtained.

You will request this Tribe to wait, untill this affair can be thoroughly sifted and attended to, tell them through some proper person, to demand their property of the Government of California, and justice for the crime committed; and believe that the Californians will do towards them and all Foreigners, justice and impartiality; as the distance is great between us, much time will be required to settle this affair.

*I am Sir, with the highest respect,
your most obedient servant*

THOMAS O. LARKIN.

*E. White Esq^r.
U. S. Sub-
Agent, for In
dian affairs*

[Continuation of the Clyman Diaries]

Heard that a small party of men started for the states about a month since were stoped by the snake Indians on account of Two of That nation being killed by some Stragling americans that came through the latter part of the winter

This circumstance shews the great necessity of some authority being Established along this rout it being allmost amatter of necessity that people should be able to pass and repass in measureable security from and to the states

25 It rained all night and the morning looked dark and Disagreeable five of us packed up and started for the california rendavous¹¹⁸ about noon it commenced raining and rained all the afternoon made 15 miles and encamped in the applegate settlement on the South branches of the yam hill I could not admire the Applegate selection although the soil is good But a portion of the country is a complete mudhole and the settlement is inconveniiently situated The hills

¹¹⁸ Regarding this project Joseph McKay recollects that:

"In the neighborhood of Yamhill I met with an American by the name of James Clymer who appeared to be the head of a party who had arrived overland from Missouri the previous autumn. The majority of Mr. Clymers Companions seemed to be thoroughly disgusted with Oregon or Columbia as it was then called, and it was intended to make up a party sufficiently strong to undertake the journey southward, across the mountains into California. The general opinion then was that it was an exceedingly dangerous undertaking on account of the warlike nature of the Indians on the route"—Joseph William McKay, *Recolections of a Chief Trader in the Hudson's Bay Company*, Pacific MS. 24, Bancroft Library.

as usual as beautiful and picturesque and in many places covered Belly deep to our Horses in clover

26 A disagreeable rainy night left our incampment passed over a beautifull undulating country near the Killamook mountains made about four miles and encamped on La Creole a handsome clear running stream with fine rich prairie intervalles on either side some settlements have commenced to be made on this creek during the past winter and a mill is now in building a few miles above our camp This La Creole or Rickreole is finely adapted for Hydraulic purposes as well as for agracultureal timber is however in many places rather scarce

27 Cloudy packed up and moved 10 miles to the Lukimute passed over a fine roling country the Lukimute is [a] clear gravelly stream falling out of the Killimook mountains and has some fine rich prairie Bottoms the hills as usual covered with Oak & Firr the white[s] extend this [far] south their being two or three farms commenced here this spring one year ago the nearest house was Thirty miles north so goes the settlments in the willhamet vally

28 It commenced raining yestarday about noon and still continues to rain we Expect to rimain here about a week waiting for the party [to] collect as we are now in advance of the main camp which are collecting [at] rikreole 12 miles in our rear rode out over the hills and shot severals g[r]ous found the grouse quite plenty

It is remarkable to see the great Quantity of esculent roots that grows in all parts of this vally Ten or Twelve acres of cammace in one marsh is Quite common and in many instances it will yield 20 Bushel to the acre the calapooyas live exclusively on roots but whare hogs are introduced they soon distroy the cammerce fields these extensive fields are allways on wet land and in many places no other vegitable is found to intermix with it Three of our party arived at our camp in the evening

29 Thick fogy morning continued showery the day thorough-out rode out in the evening saw some beautiful small vallis near the mountains one of our party killed a small deer

30 Had some sunshine during the day a Large party of Klickatat Indians came from the south and encamped near us had a view of the Killamook mountains in the afternoon the rise commencing about four miles west these mountains are low compared with the cascades but are verry rugged and covered with timber to their tops

31 The day proved to be verry warm in the low vally The Indians our neighbours ware out early diging roots this operation is performed by sinking a strong hard stick in the ground near the

roots to be dug then taking pry on the outer extremity of the stick a portion of earth containing from 2 to six roots is taken up the roots being the size of a small onion and much resembling the onion in appearance They are then washed and clesed a hole of suitable size is dug in the earth filled with wood and stones after the earth and stones becomes well heated the fire is taken off and a Layer of green grass laid over the hot stones the roots [are] piled on the grass and a Layer of grass laid over the roots then a thin layer of earth over the whole and a fire outside of all which is kept up some 24 hours when it is allowed to cool down and the roots are ready for use or for drying and putting away for future use when dry they keep for months or years

June the First 1845 M. M[oses] Harris visited our encampment Last night and [I] Received lettrs from my Esteemed Friend Dr White as Likewise from Dr McLaughlin Both wishing me success on my hazardous Journey back to the states the acquaintance I leave in this vally are but few thos few However (are of) are Euqal to any I have ever found in warmth of feeling kindness and generosity with out any of that selfishness so often seen in the States

2 It Rained all day in showers and made camping verry disagreeable

3 still continues to rain we moved camp However for the purpose of getting red of our pilfering neighbours the Klickatats crossed over the East Fork of Lickemute River and encamped near the hills this last stream is a deep muddy creek about 20 yards wide and we had to carry our packs over on a drift The Brances of this stream unite a few miles Below our camp forming a large vally of fine rich land the stream uniting with the willhamet about 8 miles below Both Branches of the Lukimute are bold and noble mill streams Timber However is inconvenient to many fine farming tracts the oak which abounds on the hills is shrubby and short Three men arived at camp making our cup [company] 12 men strong

4 The sun arose nearly clear and we have the prospect of a few hours sun shine I noticed in many places in the hills that the substrata was a formation of soft shelly rock or (or) indurated clay which washes down by the winter rains and becomes verry soft and impassable for a horse bearing a man

rode out over the hills s. E. of our camp had an extensive view of hill vally and mountain far to the North and East passed over some beautiful farming Lands The day proved fair & the grass became dry some showers of rain fell in the afternoon low grumbling

thunder heard at a distance and I think this is the third time I have heard thunder in the Territory as thender and Lightning is verry rare From what cause I cannot tell it may possibly be on account of the lowness of the clouds which rest on the mountains and in fact on the earth even in vallies

5 the sun arose through a thick fog the forenoon was however pleasant Lighgt showers hovered around all the afternoon to the west and south rode out over some beautifull hills well calculated for pasture land and Exhibiting a beautifull variety of Scenery the greate variety however is to be had in many places in this country and had nature given this vally a pleasant climate no country in the known world could compare with it for rural sceenery when the vallies shall become grain fields and the hills covered with flocks and herds of Domestic animals

6 Drizling rain fell during the night and still continues this morning 5 men and one woman & three children arived at our camp During the day rode out up the vally and mounted an imenence from which we had a large and magnificent view of the vally and lower mountains the uper mountain being covered in clouds and rain returned to camp over beautiful farming and pasture lands observed quantities of wild pigions feeding on the grass seeds several kinds of which are fully ripe

7 Light showers of rain fell in various directions around us but none on us during the fore noon our party continues collecting and we have a fair prspect of making a regular start Tomorow on our trip to california

[Next to last page]

Tell Everhart to Bring $\frac{1}{4}$ lb Tea and 6 lb sugar

[Last page]

Oregon Territory March the 21 [1845]

2 saddle Blankets
 5^{lb} Lead 1 do Powder
 5 lb Coffee 10 do sugar
 3 Trail Ropes
 1 Pair Pants
 Leading Cords
 Cooking utensils
 Linnen for bags & sacks
 Leather for hopples
 Mockasins & soals &c
 Soap Fr John 2 lb rice
 5 lb sugar
 1 Hankf Blank Book

[*Inside back cover*]

POESY BY A NATIVE

[Clyman is suspected of being the author.]

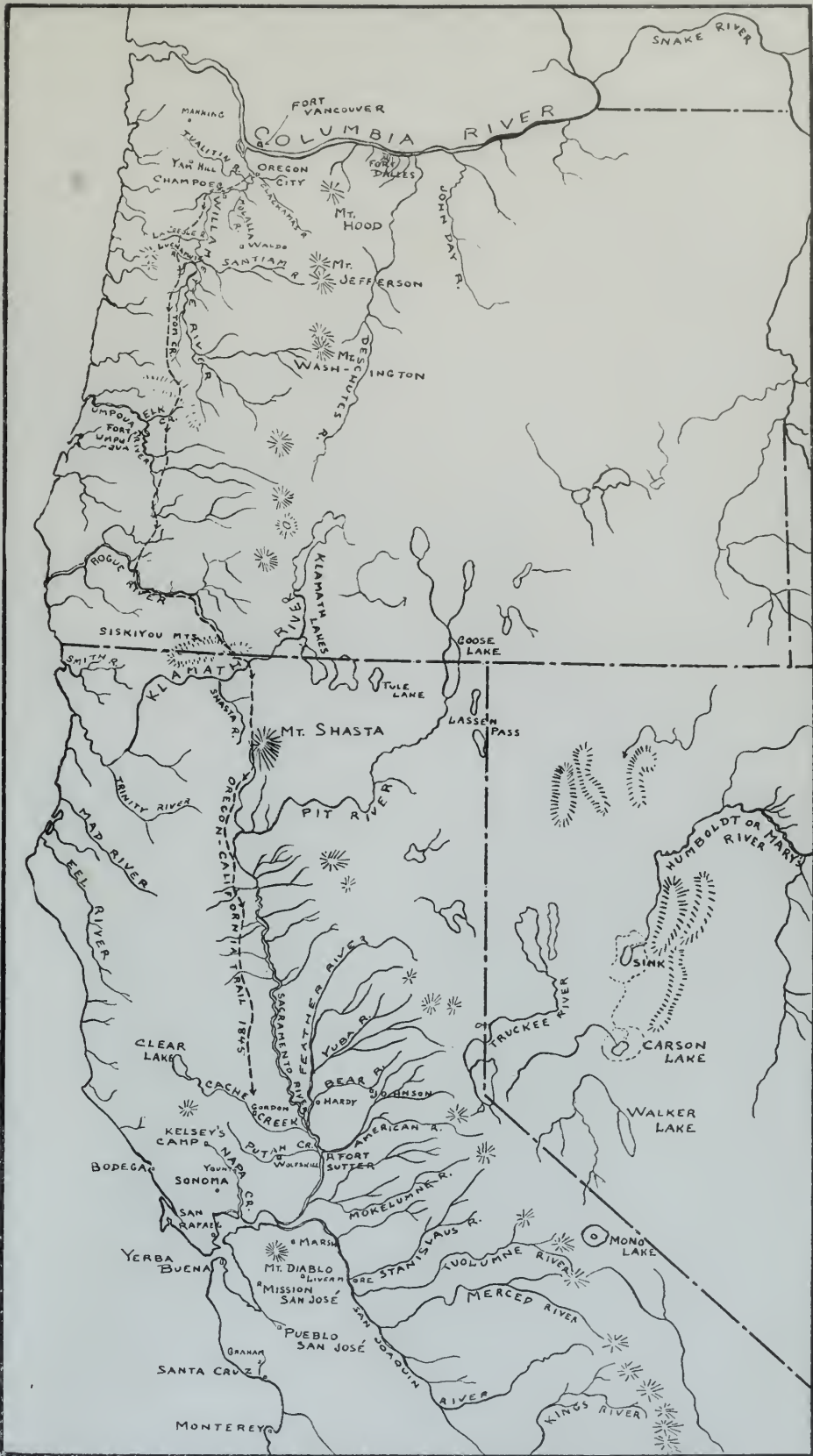
The Firrs their length their Extreme hight
As yet remains in doubt
But Tradition throws an obscur light
That many had grown Quite out of sight
Ere Hood Began to Sprout

AN ADDRESS TO MOUNT HOOD

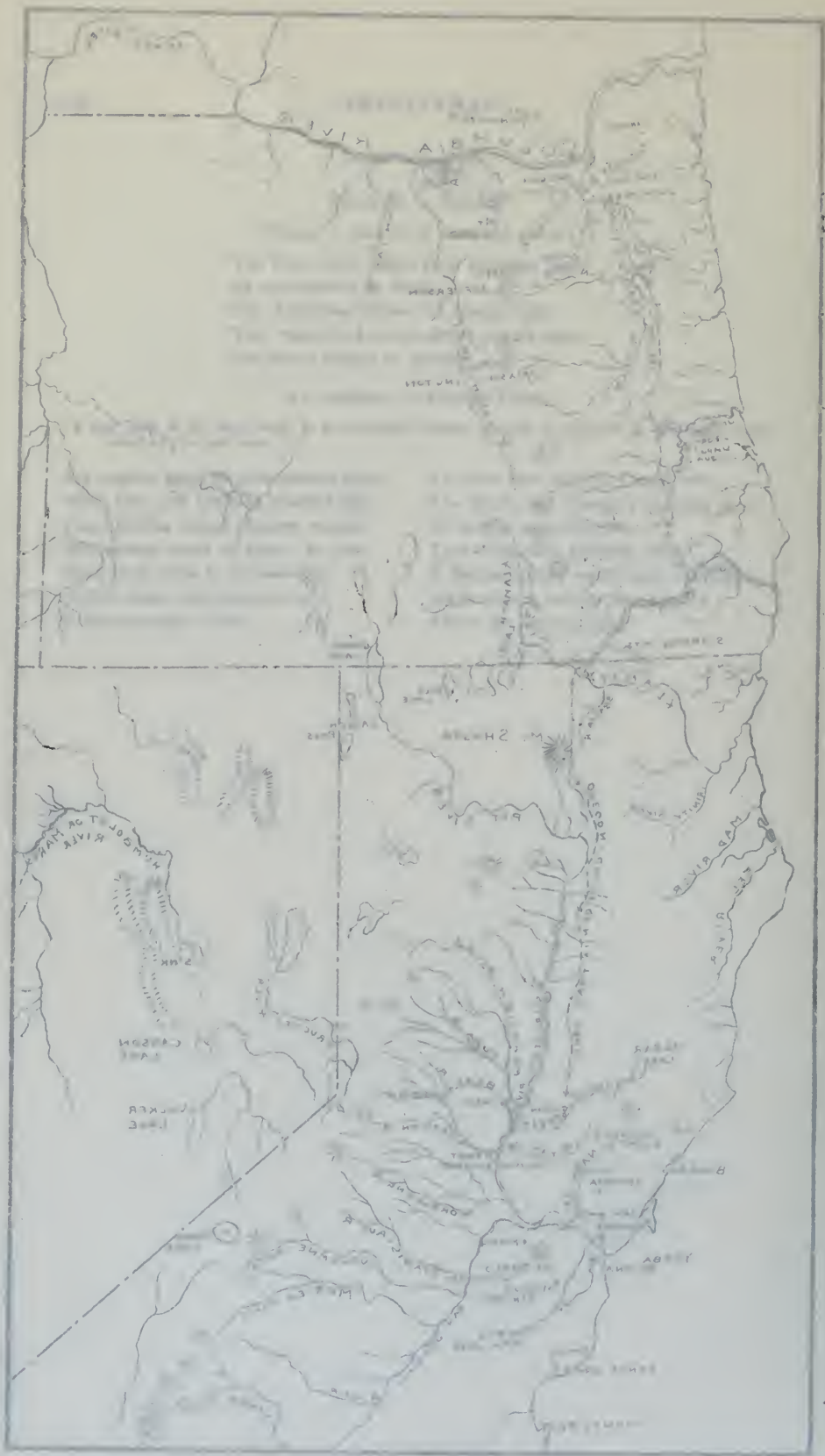
[A trial draft of the first verse, in a somewhat different wording, is penciled on the inside front cover of the note book.]

Say mighty peak of tremendous hight
What brot you forth to etherial light
From Earths inmost deepest woomb
Was central earth so Jam^d. so pent
That thou arose to give it vent
Or for some other purpose sent
A Monumental Tomb

To shew that once in Licqid heat
The Earth had flowed a burning sheet
Of melted wavering fire
That animation Flaming lay
A molten Mixed wase rocks and clay
When thou a bubble rose to play
Above the funeral pyre



MAP 2
Clyman's route from Oregon to California in 1845.



Map 1
Topographic Map of the Colorado River and its Tributaries

BOOK 5

[Cover]

J Clymans Memorandum

June the 8 1845

[On the Oregon-California Trail]

[date][miles]

8	-	10	
9	-	16	
10	-	20	
11	-	12	
12	-	15	- To the Kalapooya Mountains
13	-	22	- across the mountains
14	-	18	
15	-	10	umpuquaw River
16	-	16	
17	-	16	Foot of the umquaw mountains
18	-	15	across the umpquaw mount
19		17	
20	14.		Rogue ^s River
21		16	
22		20	
23		25	
24		14	
25		15	
26		25	
28		15	
29.		20	
30.		20	

371

[Loose leaf]

William Wolfscale [Wolfskill]
in the Town of Purbelo [Pueblo of Los Angeles]

John Warner same Place
Lemuel J Carpenter

DIRECTIONS BY MR [JOEL P.] WALKER¹¹⁹

*Be carefull to never camp in the timber if it can be avoided. Be
carefull to never Let any Indians come amongst you Never Lit the
Indian have any amunition on any account Keep careful watch
both day and night Never neglect camp guard on any account*

¹¹⁹ Joel P. was a brother of Joseph R. Walker, the mountaineer. Besides being the first non-missionary settler to bring an American family into Oregon he had already traveled the Oregon-California trail twice and knew whereof he spoke. His wife, Mary Young Walker, was the first American woman to come overland into California. There is a tradition in the family that on one of these trips she saved her children during an Indian encounter by tucking them under her arms and fording a stream to the protection of her husband's rifle.

*Never Fire a gun after (after) crossing the Umqua mountain untill
you cross the siskiew mountain perhaps Five days travel Keep your-
selves close as possible in traveling through the Brush*

*Never scatter after game or [make] any other division
Keep your guns the best firing condition*

[Continuation of the Diaries]

Sunday June the 8th 1845 — Cloudy —

Made a finale start for california our company consisting of 35 men one woman and three children Left four men at camp hunting for a Lost Horse which ran away this morning in a fright

Passed over a fine undulating country handsomely and thickly clothed with grass some haveing the appeareance of rye and timothy all kinds However covered in seed which [is] rather remarkable for it is well Known to all the western states that but fewe of Prarie grasses ever bears seed

Here all the grasses are laden down with seed and those grown in the oak Hills the more certain Had a view of mount Jefferson clothed in everlasting winter which has grown into an extensive mountain of considerable length The clouds blew of[f] and the sun shone out as we passed through oak groves In the Evening the 4 men left to Hunt the lost animal came up haveing found the Horse making our paty 39 men strong the day proved pleasant made 10 miles and Encamped on a small Brook about 4 miles from the Willhamet our path lea[d]ing close to the Killamook

9 Morning Clear the sun arose in splended majisty over the snowy peaks of Mount Jefferson The vally covered in dew like a rain passed through some beautifull country for farming and Likewise some very wet land early in the Day we came to a small river supposed to be the Tom Beoff found it not fordable but after meandering up the stream some 4 miles when we found a deep ford after some plunging and swiming we all passed safely over but we soon found that we had numerous branches of the same stream yet to pass all of which ware deep and difficult to ford one point on the Killamook mountains shewed considerable of snow on its summit this peak stands near the gorge of the Tom Beoff and near the vally made about 16 miles a large Prarie lies East of our camp and it has a fine appearance at a distance Today we traveled through some fine grass lands which would be good for mowing if hay was necessary the vally on this side of the river dose not excede 10 miles wide

10 Clear Left our camp at 8 oclock passed some fine Prarie lands and continued up the south Branch of Tom Beoff a dull

muddy stream nearly Bank full and not fordable crossed several deep cammace swamps and several deep muddy Brances of the main stream with difficulty at length we cleared the Tom Beoff intirely and assended the long slope of a ridge had a few miles of pleasant traveling the ridge was thinly clad with oak and pine our rout still lying near the Killimook mountains we not being able to travel in the main vally on account of highness of the waters

The country we passed to day is deep red clay on the hills the vallys being low and mostly wet The dry vally land however is verry rich Timber shrubby oak and pine and Firr passed severall beautefull round mounds standing in the main vally I cannot conjecture how [they] came to occupy such situations unless at some distant period this vally formed a Lake

Made 20 miles and incamped on a deep dirty small river

11 The day proved clear and fine and it was all that was pleasant during the day after leaving our low over flown camp we soon passed into a dirty mirey pomd for nearly a mile Belly deep to our horses an hours plunging brought us to a dry ridge of considerable hight from which we had a view of nearly all of the upper Willhamet vally and from apearances seven Eights of the level vally was overflown during the winters rains continued up a small river our course a little west of south made an etempt to pass over the creek and gain another trail more easterly with considerable difficulty we succeeded to cross the stream after getting over to our disapointment we foud our selves on a low sunken Island surrounded by Byous and shoughs and ware forced to cross back again through the same miry ford — continued our course up the stream through mud and mire a low pine ridge to our right and large extensive marsh to our left noticed a speces of Black oak to day made 10 miles and encamped on a low pine Bluff near the river

12 after a full examination of the Primises it was determined to carry all our Baggage over the stream on dift [driftwood] near our camp and take our animals about Four miles up the stream and then swim them over it being the nearest place that could be found where our horses could get either in or out in a few hours we ware all packed up and on our way from swamp river passed several miles of Pine plain and came to another dirty creek here we again had to unpack and carry on a log the stream being to deep and miry for horses to pass with packs on once more under way we entered the hills to our greate Joy being completely sick of level marshes and overflown val-lies. the hills as usual in oregon are covered with fine nutritious grass groves of shrubby oak and fine firr in places made about 15 miles

and encamped in the hills a small party of Klickitats going north came to our camp while we were unpacking our animals hills and mountains have allways been pleasant to me but I think the hills at this time are unusually pleasant our course to day being a little East of south

13 From a hill near our camp last night I had a view of Mount Hood Mount Jefferson and five other snowy pinicles south and east of Mount Jefferson as likewise the umpequaw mountains crossing our path to the South Packed up and moved on the trail up the creek after passing a few miles of open hill country we came to a small creek over which we found a (a) good and safe Bridge crossed over and immediately assended the Kalapooya mountains this mountain is thickly covered with Firr and ceader timber and underbrush of hazel dogwood and other Brush

This ridge is not high but is verry steep in many places and Formed intirely of clay based on a soft rotten Bassalt rock seen in avery few places only the cedar of this country is of a large and verry fine discription made 22 miles and encamped in a narrow vally on one of the branches of the umquaw and near the entrance of the umquaw vally the country so far appears to be much dryer than [the] vally on the north of the mountains

14 Clear and still the smoke curling around the half bar Hills which seem to be covered in Black tailed deer Took the Trail again soon crossed the Elk creek a stream about 30 yards wide clear gravelly bottom and sandy Banks the first we have seen since we crossed Rickreole this stream runs to the S. W. and empties into the Umpquaw Prarie vallies seem to open out immediately below the ford assendid up the stream and up a steep brushy ridge but soon entered a beautifull little vally streching away south Passed on to the head of the vally crossed several ridges all covered more or less in shrubby oak and Firr timber and well grasse^d.

This vally is quite uneven so far and much more dry than the willhamet vally and equally well timber^d. and well stored with game such as deer Elk and Bear during our progrees to day we saw anumber of Indians peeping over the hills and viewing us as we passed Made 18 miles and encamped at the Fork of a small creek this appears to be a common encampment for all the travelers to and from California numerous ridges may be seen running in all directions through this part of the vally

15 A number of Indians came to our camp late last night and remained in camp during the night of the Kalapooya and Umpquaw tribes made an early start soon crossed a considerable creek run-

ning westward passed through an uneven vally frequently rising up into mountains at 11 came to the umpquaw river arapid stream about 100 yards wide clear and cool with a solid rock bottom the [banks] rising into mountains in many places from the waters edge Hired an Indian with his canoe to ferry our bagage over this task he performed to our satisfaction all got safely over and encamped on the south side of the stream on the open Prarie as this method of encampment is much the most safe for a Party as large as ours being able to defend ourselves best on the Praries or whare the enemy would be exposed in making an attack mad about 10 miles Two Indians remained in camp last night

16 Before leaveing the umpquaw I might remark that the Hudson Bay company have a trading house some 20 miles below whare a small profitable trade is carried on From Information this stream bars the same character from Its sources in the snowy butes of the cascades that is going Pitching and Tumbling through the rock untill within some 40 miles of its mouth (its waters being nearly doubled) when it becomes still and moves slowly and Quietly to the ocean through a thick impenetrable forrest of lofty timber the Praries firminating whare the rapids cease in abot one hours travel we reached the south Branch of umpquaw a rapid stream much resembling the main river passed up over some steep Bluffs which raise into mountains the river winding and curving amongst the rocks and Hills the most bear of Timber which are low the higher covered in oak and Firr some Beautifull vallies are found that look allmost like enchantment the rapid little river Tumbling along one side rounded Hills of oak softining down to a vally bounding the others all covered in grass and flowers all wild as natures dream and covered with the light bounding deer Made 16 miles¹²⁰

17 Lift our camp on the river and proceeded up through a rough rugged country passed several cliffs of rock closing down to the waters edge saw the blackned carcase of a dead Indian lying raped up in his old worn deer skin habliments after considerable winding and turning around hills and pricepces we reached a beautifull level rich but small vally lying on both sides of the river some 4 miles in length and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide reaching the head of the vally the mountains closed in so that we had to ford the river three times in less than two miles the first and second fords ware deep the water rapid and the bottom rocky so that nearly all our packs got more or les wet about three oclock we encamped at the foot of the umpquaw mountains having made 16 miles this mountain looks steep and rugged saw a greate veriety of

¹²⁰ Evidently the route followed close to the present line of the Southern Pacific Railroad from Yoncalla Creek to Roseburg.

beautifull flowers in passing through this vally if vally it can be fairly calle^d. saw several Beautifull young fawns lying in the grass during the day which did not move by being handled

18 arose early we now have to enter the continual war nations of Indians that inhabit the whole extent of country between here and California as son as packd we got on the trail and commenced assending the mountain by the way of following a dim trail up the steep bluffs and winding around decliveties of (of) the mountain after much fatiegue and labour we assended the tumbling mountain torrent untill [it] branched into several smaller streams when we assended the Point of a mountain nearly perpendicular about a mile high traversed its narrow winding summit a short distance and again decended crossed a small mountain brook and scaled another mountain full as steep as the first but not so high followed around through brush and logs a few miles and again desended to a fine small prarie whare we encamped having traveled 15 miles of unaccountable tiresome difficult road over a high steep mountain covered with brush and logs likewise firr and ceedar timber the streams run through a rocky channel but no rock is found near the summt of the ridges

19 clear & warm passed down a handsome Brook with a narrow Prarie vally running down the north side about 6 miles cross^d. the Brook and immediately took [up] the mountain steep ruged and Brushy this ridge has several snowdrifts yit visable on its summit a short distance South of the trail The desent was not Quite so steep crossed a small Brook and assended another mountain not Quite so high as the first but verry difficult on account of the logs and undergrothe some parts of these mountains have Beautifull groves of Pine Firr and cedar but apparantly to remote to be usefull Partially desended the second to a small cove and then mounted a third high ridge at the bottom of which opens a small vally of handsome Prarie whare we encamped haveing made about 17 miles the first six miles being nearly west the latter part S and S.W. deer dose not appear to be abundant

20 Immedeately after leaving camp we assended a mountain of no greate elevation but verry brushy and steep immediatly on the summit the open country commenced with Pine openings and a lengthy desent of dry hard gravelly soil which continued untill we reached the river on the whole the county is rough poor and fobined [forbidding?] and of little account even the savages that inhabit this region find a scanty subsistanc there being but few roots which are so abundant in the willhamette vally on our rout to day we saw 4 or 5 squaws hunting after roots which ware much serprised to se us so unexpectedly early in the afternoon we reached the Clamet or Rogues

River and a number of the savagers came to our camp but as a matter of safety we would not permit them into camp. Made 14 miles several [1] men went to Examin the river only a short distance ahead several parties came to our camp and made every effort and devise to come into camp and nothing short of a cocked rifle would prevent them. However we succeeded to keep them back without violence and they sung their war songs in hearing of our camp all night.

Made 16 mile

21 Early we ware on the move the Indians close in the rear we soon unpacked on the bank of Rogues River this stream is about 100 yards wide running Rapid over a generally rocky Bottom the country we passed over was generally poor gravelly hard and dry the vally narrow and uneven the mountains dry parched and covered with shrubby pine and several kinds of evergreen shrubbery some of a beautiful appearance and would grace a walk in any city — we hired two Indians and their canoes who soon forried us over the river while we stood with our guns in our hands for our defence about 2 in the afternoon we passed anarrow point of rocks Juting in neare the Rivir¹²¹ Capt [Green] McMahon and seven or eight men went ahead and Examined the primises but found no danger lurking there our course to day has been East or nearly so up the South side of the river which came tumbling down impetuously so far the vally of this stream is thinly coverd in pine cedar and oak a new speeces of pine is found here haveing sweet turpentin oozeing forom it

22 Immediately above our camp the [river] passes out from between two high mountains and tumbles down several falls and rapids our trail here left the course of the river and we moved of [f] Easterly up a narro vally which soon brot us in sight of a Beautiful vally in which two branches of the rive[r] seem to form a Junction and Likewise in sight of several snowy peak one nearly east¹²² is High round & and sharp with snow a long way down its sides and a Table rock¹²³ of considerabl Hight the top level and [said] to contain an Indian vilage this is doubtful but it may be a place of safety in seasons of danger Eastwardly up this vally we proceeded and four of us that ware ahead missing the rout rode near the mountain when 4 Natives ware discovered to our left we made chase and soon overtook them in the chanel of a dry Brook whare they crouched down and gave up to be shot as they expected nothing less they proved to be

¹²¹ Near Grants Pass, Oregon.

¹²² Mount Pitt.

¹²³ One of the "Table Rocks" near the junction of Bear Creek and Rogue River.

an old woman two boys and one fine little girl Mr Frazier dismounted and gave the girl a biscuit who took it but as soon as we moved our horses so that they had an open way they took to there heels again and we rode on the vally still widening and ranges of the wildes[t] and most beautiful Hill[s] bounded the North side of the vally these hills rise in a succession of rounded Knolls one above another generally covered in grass but one or two cliffs of rock make their appearance traveled about 20 miles and encamped on a small brook haveing several snow drifts in sight toward the south¹²⁴

The natives of this vally seem to have a hard way of living their being no game and but few roots and when the oak miss to bear they live on clove[r] not unlike the pigs or domestic animal but when the oak bears acorns they are plentifully supplied for the time being in the summer they live on grass and have no clothing Except a deer skin or a short apron of plated grass They are the sworn Enimies of the whites and would be verry dangerous had they the use of fire arms

23 Under way Early and I could not but admire the varied diversity of the Hills Lying to the North some of the advance came suddenly upon a small party of Indians who all ran but one supposed to be a chief who stood and made signs about a minuet and put out to the brush course still East of south up the vally about 12 we began to climb the Siskiew mountain which is not difficult nor steep compared with some we have passed near the top of this mountain is a bad thicket to pass whare nearly all the parties passing this Trail have been attacted several men with Capt McMahen went in ahead and we drove in our packed animals all came through safe & soon had a view of the country south from the summit which was wild and awfully sublime snow was seen in more than 20 places some quite nigh and amongst the timber which goes to shew that an [un]usual Quantity has fallen late in the spring moved on down the mountain which is steep but not difficult made 25 miles

24 Left our encampment under the Siskiew mountain an proceeded down an uneven mountainous vally¹²⁵ a south Easterly direction the country gravelly dry and Barren passed several old Indian wigwams whar Quantities of acorns had been gathered last fall no game is to be seen in this Region some of our advance pursued a fale [male] and female Native the male made his Escape the female was taken and her horse taken from her (Mr Sears & Mr Owens) Came to the Clamet River a strong swift stream running rapidly over a Rocky

¹²⁴ Near Ashland, Oregon.

¹²⁵ Cottonwood Creek, in Siskiyou County, California. The trail crossed the Siskiyou divide where the railroad now runs.

bed after some search a ford was found a short distance above when we all crossed over and encamped on the South side This river is about 80 yards wide and is Quite muddy from the thawings of the snow on the Mountains course S.W and appears to fall into a deep Kenyon a short distance below saw the recent marks of a trapping party supposed to [be] Indians Travel to day about 14 miles

25 Left our camp on Clamet River and immediately left the River the general appearant course of the vally being North of East we going South of East passed a few miles of rough rocky country¹²⁶ when a fine level vally hove in sight through which we passed steering for a Tripple shaped high round peaked snowcapd Montain known by the name of the Snowy Bute¹²⁷ at about 15 miles we came to a clear handsome small stream of water¹²⁸ running westward as do all the streams of this region whare we encamped amidst innumerable swarms of fine large Brown grasshoppers and [so] voracious ware they that we had to baet them off of our Baggage with sticks and when not allowed to eat baggage the live ate the dead greedily — and five or six living ones fought for the body of one ded one The land of this vally is dry and barren lies very high and is nearly surrounded by snowcap^t mountains whose summits do not appeer high above the plain

26 again under way we passed through amidst a great number of round conicle peaks of rock standing out in an uneven plain all formed of rock Mostly black rough and porus some nearley as open as a riddle in the forenoon passed Chesty River a deep clear stream running North of west and probaby falling in to the clammet River some distance below Continued our course East of South over a rough rocky plain and approched near the western base of the mountain came to a clear Brook of water and beautifull small green valley whare we encamped¹²⁹ haveing traveled 25 miles the high snowy Bute Lies S. E. of our camp not Exceeding 15 miles from the everlasting snow saw recent marks of a large trapping Party which cannot be far distant from us antelope have been tolerable plenty for 2 days past

27 Concluded to remain in our present camp to day and rest our animals as we are informed that we have an extremely rough country to pass through on our way down the sacriment a large high rounded rock¹³⁰ can be distinctly seen which stands on or near the top of the Siskiew Mountain a few miles East of the pass This vally is no part

¹²⁶ Willow Creek.

¹²⁷ Mount Shasta.

¹²⁸ Little Shasta River.

¹²⁹ Near the present site of Butteville, in Shasta Valley.

¹³⁰ Pilot Knob.

of it fit for cultivation but is finely clothed in grass in many places but not generally

very little timber is found in the vallies the mountains are covered with pitch pine generally knotty and shrubby game not plenty The two men that went out this morning in search of the trapping party this morning returned again in the evening unsuccessful a Black conicle Knob¹³¹ of considerable elivation seems to stand in the center of the pass Between the Bute¹²⁷ and the point of a Snowy mountain¹³²

28 Left our camp on Chesty vally proceeded up some small streams Isuing from a snowy mountain Lying to the west of the trail Intered a beautifull pineery consisting of white or sugar and yallow pine Firr and cedar of Large dementions and fine straight stems passed the Black rocky Bute close to the East made 15 miles and encamped on a Limpid Brook¹³³ of cool clear water comeing from the Snowy Bute and Being some of the Extereme Northwestern heads of the sacramento River Land generally timbered gravelly and poor several deer ware seen and some killed on the way the snow on the Bute to the East seems to be Quite nigh and considerable Quantities yet Lying some distance below the point of vegetation but this cannot be a common occurrence or if it is the groth of Pine must be cool as well as rapid

29 Proceeded down the vally of the Sacramento through some magnificent Timber land some of the finest I Ever beheld after some hours travel we desended into the vally of the main river near whare a Soda spring¹³⁴ Issues out of the East Bank of the river But this spring is deminutive in comparison to the greate soda springs on Bear River both as to Quality and Quantity not containing but trifling portions of gass still it is a fine pleasant cool dr[a]ught in a warm day as the present has been the river comes tumbling down over the rocks in numerous rapid whirls & is confined all most to its channel between high mountains on either side which rise verry steep and are covered in pine timber and underbrush to their summits generally forded the river at the soda springs and continued down on the west side over steep Bruuff and deep ravines traveled 20 miles and encamped on a dry narrow pine plain¹³⁵ North west of our camp is an awfull steep craggy cliff of grey granite rock the pinecles of which look as sharp as Icyceles

30 Early on our saddles and pushing ahead on account of the

¹³¹ Sugar Loaf.

¹³² Eddy Mountain.

¹³³ Cold Creek.

¹³⁴ Upper Soda Spring.

¹³⁵ From here on, distances seem to be much overestimated

poorness of the grass and in $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile we assended a steep Bluff of the River which was followed by another and another throughout the day in fact we rode the whole of 20 miles on the steep side of amountain crossin impending ravines desending down one side and assending up the oposite amidst declivities of sharp rock some of which was a whitish grey granite and intermixed with Black slate standing in a perpendicular form pointing at all who ware hardy enough to oppose: the River tumbling and fomeing down a narrow channel at a desperate pitch of rapidity the day proved to be verry warm in the ravine along whose sides we wound our tiresome way not a drop of rain has fallen on us since we left the settlements on the Eighth of the present month but still the mountain Brooks are plenty and well supplied with cool water ———

July the First 1845

The sun arose in his strength and looked down upon us in a narrow confined spot near the River the vegetation all dried Brown on the earth our animals striving to pick up a scanty subsistence our selves standing about in groups and you might hear the Question frequently asked or other ways propounded (when will we get out of these mountains) Started down the river crossing a rough rocky Brook¹³⁶ and turned up the ridge missed the old trail and followed the trail of a recent Trapping party continued to assend the mountain about 4 miles when it was concluded to Retrace our steps so turning around with some difficulty on account of narrowness of the ridge we came to the river again and unpacked our animals to graze packed up and continued down the River some Indians came up with the rear of our party and Mr Sears shot two of them our road this afternoon was some little beter than yesterday and we made about 18 miles over a dry rocky country of a mixture of Slate and granite rock verry keen and sharp for our horses feet which are verry tender The hills are bald or thinly covered with pine timber intermixed with oak of several kinds grass scarce and vegetation light and starved three Indians came to camp in the evening which ware soon sent away as our camp

¹³⁶ Perhaps Dog Creek. The trapping party was probably one that had passed here a few weeks before from Sutter's Fort to the discovery of the headwaters of Trinity River. Isaac Cox, *The Annals of Trinity County*, San Francisco, 1858, quotes Major P. B. Reading:

"In the spring of 1845 I left Sutter's Fort for the purpose of trapping the waters of Upper California and Oregon. My party consisted of thirty men, with one hundred head of horses. In the month of May I crossed the mountains from the Sacramento River, near a point now called the Back-bone; in about twenty miles' travel reached the banks of a large stream, which I called the Trinity, supposing it led into Trinity Bay, as marked on the old Spanish Charts."

was not a safe place for savages there being no controle of free americans in this region

2 The grass was so poor that we packed up from the stake this morning and immediately put to the trail crossed several deep ravines and at length to cap all we commenced assending the side of a nearly perpendicular mountain composed of slate and granite an hours sweating puffing and blowing brought us to the sharp top when we commenced desending on the other side which was worse if possible another hour brot us to the bottom again whare we found a small uneven bottom large enough to graze our animals an hour on a scanty supply of grass and wood enough to prepare our Breakfast 17 [miles]

Immedeately commenced assending another mountain the steepest I ever saw for hoses to climb But we made the summit at last by taking zig zag sheers back and forth over the rough rocks and through the Brush in fact it was almost to steep for brush to grow continued along the ridge which was composed of Slate set edge wise and in many places too narrow for a Rabbit to walk over in such places we had to desend along the perpendicular sides whare a precareous foot hold could be found for a few animals in the decomposed rock that had tumbled from the higher parts at a late hour in the afternoon we dsended on to a small brook running through a Kenyon you could see the water but not taste it some few miles below we campd

3 Again we saddled at the stake and took down the creek and soon came to [the Sacramento] river which had more than doubled its waters since we left it yestarday but still running through a norrow confined rocky channel onnpacked for Breakfast Before we packed up several Indians ware seen across the river and several guns fired at long shot across the River and eventually one killed

[A half page blank]

After packing we again took to the Rocky hills the greate vally in plain view from the hills has occasionally (has) been seen for several days all anxious to leave the Eternal mountains urged our Jaded animals to thier utmost capabilities and about Three in the afternoon we entered the lower vally of the sacramento and threw ourselves under the shad of the wide spreading oak Trees that stand scattered promisquesly over this vally¹³⁷

The earth seemed to be verry dry for the season and as might be expected the weather we found to be warm our Travel to day 20 Miles

¹³⁷ Near Redding. The trail missed the mouth of Pit River, evidently by crossing the ridge northeast of Back Bone Creek.

[A half page blank]

July the 4th 1845 again we ware on the march a few miles of midling country broughte [us] to a small River shortly after crossing of which we bore to the right across a range of gravelly hills covered in thorn Bushis and bearing no grass no[r] much vigeatation of any [kind] that canbe usefull two or three hours ride brot us to another smal river runing over a gravel and rocky bed on this we encamped having traveled about 20 miles¹³⁸

5 Took across the ridges again found them gravelly poor and hard course a little west of south about noon we came to the river again Quite Enlarged and the shores lined with willow and Sycamore soil appearantly dry but saw several patches of wild oats now ripe and mostly d[r]oped off the straw has the exact appearance of the cul-tivated of the states but the grain or berry is dark brown and covered with a thick fuzzy film snowey mountains can be seen from this vally in all directions except south some Quite large and high others small Travel to day 16 miles and encamped on the River most of the vegetation grown and dry and considerable of it rotten the days we found verry warm and the nights warm also

6 Left our camp on the river and took down the plain some miles from the river the praries [are] hard clay mixed with water worn gravel mostly granite and rough white flint and thinly covered in grass which is (is) generally short passed several chanel of dry Brooks some of considerable width passed one running stream of water deeply sunk in loose gravel Banks some fine grazing lands lying adjacent but no timbr fit for mechanicle purposess the vege-tation to day completely dry and mostly Burned off smokes were raising in all directions from the grass being on fire Travel to day 28 miles encamped near a hole of stagnant water standing in the channel of a dry Brook the vally here is Quite large and the moun-tains compartivly Low

7 Loft our dry camp on dry creek and took down the plain over

¹³⁸ In conversation with Ivan Petroff in 1878, Clyman related their method of celebrating the fourth of July:

"On this our national holiday a brutal and disgraceful occurrence took place. Some Indians were seen across the river and Mr Sears proposed to kill one of them single-handed if his comrades would keep him covered with their guns. They agreed and he started out armed only with his bowie knife. After swimming across he encountered an Indian, who had been firing at him from behind a rock without effect. They grappled and Sears stabbed his man to death and then returned safe and sound across the river. I was so disgusted with this affair at the time that I did not enter it in my notes"—Ivan Petroff's abstract of *Clyman's Note Book*, MS. Bancroft Library.

Franklin Sears, who lived at Sonoma for many years, said that this duel of his occurred at Red Bluff.

a hard gravelly surface at a rapid rate of Travelling for Broken down animals the day was cool and cloudy passed some apparently good soil in the afternoon and several large patches or fields of wild oats the straw still standing but (but) the grain mostly dropped out Turned in and encamped on a miserable Slough of Bad water near the river shortly after we unsaddled it commenced raining and [rained] steadily all night a Large village of Natives was in hearing across the pond but as they remained at home themselves we did not visit them Our travel to day being 30 miles near and about our camp is a groth of Large shrubby oak of the white oak spices during the day we crossd a fine small river of running water in a deep gravelly Bed

8 Continued raining but we saddled and started through the rain passed over beautifull level prarie near the timber and about 10 oclock it Broke away and ceased raining about one oclock the prarie appeared nearly black with Indians to our left but only one approached near us who spoke bad spanish and we still worse so we had but little conversation and continued our rout and shortley turned in to the river and encamped haveing travelled 20 miles of level loose country along our rout Found it verry difficult to water our animals at the river on account of the Loose and soft nature of the banks and bottom the day was cool and pleasant after the rain which Likewise softened the Earth and made it pleasant travelling. the male natives of all this region that I have yet seen go entirely naked

9 A cool pleasant day after the rain we ware early on our saddles and steered for a gap in the mountain a southwest direction over a level prarie which from appearances is some times covered in-tirely by water but is dry and firm at present about 2 in the afternoon we reached the channel of a dry creek much disapointed as our selves and animals ware very thirsty and fatigued no alternative was left us but to push forward to a pount of timber about 15 miles ahead so on we urged our Jaded animals and reached a small brook of water about sundown and encamped our guide thought he knew the place an rode out to look for the settlements and in an hour returned with a Mr Sumner [Owen Sumner Jr.] whose father was with us Let our animals run loose for the first time and all lay down and slept Quietly and sound under the spreading oak trees 40 miles

10 At an Early hour we ware visited by a Mr [William] Knight who informed us that the country was in a verry unsettled state there haveing been a kind of Revelution or Rebellion during the winter and spring and that the governor had been driven out of the province but was now returning with a strong force to reinstate matters on a more firm Base than heretofore Mr Wolfscale [John Wolfskill] and several

other american gentlemen visited our camp during the fore noon could not determine what course to pursue in this unsettled state of publick affairs all concluded to remain in our present camp to day and rest ourselves and animals in the afternoon Mr Wolfscale Butchered a Beef and kindly invited all of us to take what we wished without money and without price so that the evening was spent in feasting on the fattest kind of Beef

11 on account of our animals we remain in our present camp to day to give them rest many of our company are much discouraged at the report of the dullness of all kinds of Buisness as they Expected to find immediate employ at high wages

[Back Cover]

[date]	[miles]	
8	— 10	From Jays to the Callapooya mont
9	— 16	
10	— 20	
11	— 12	
12	— 22	across the Mount
13	— 18	
	10	

[There are also some calculations of time and distance traveled, indicating an average of 17 miles a day for 22 days.]

BOOK 6

[Gordon Ranch to Napa Valley]

July the 12th 1845

Several of our party packed up and left for Capt Suitors a strong doba or mud walled fort about 40 miles East It is said that Captain Suitor is likewise an alcalda or Justice of the peace and has the right to grant passports for my own part I have come to the conclusion to go down the North side of the Bay of saint Francisco to Sonoma in a few days and see what Buisness may be found in that direction

[Sutter to Larkin regarding the Oregon Immigration]

[Larkin Documents III, 220. Bancroft Library]

New Helvetia 15th July 1845.Thomas O. Larkin Esq^{re} in Monterey

Dear Sir!

. . . I send you a News paper from St: Louis send to me over the Rocky Mountains, with a somewhat exagerated description of California. The Company which arrived the 10th inst^t from the Oregon consists out 39 Men, 1 Widow and 3 Children of which I send you inclosed a list.

All of this people have a descent appearance and some very useful Men amongs them some of them will remain here, and the Majority will spred over the whole Country like usual, a good Many will come to Monterey and present themselves to you, I give them passports, and give Notice to the Government. I received a letter which informes me that in about 6 or 8 Weeks an othre Comp^y. will arrive here direct from the U. S. a very large Company more as 1000 Souls, familyls from Kentucky and Ohio and a good Many young enterprizing Gentlemen with some Capital to improve the Country, under lead of L. W. Hastings Esq^{re} of whom I received some letters which informed me of this Ar-rival, I am looking for them in about 8 or 10 weeks from Now, I am very glad that they meet with some good Pilots at fort Hall, people who went over there from here, to pilot Emigrants the new Wagon road which was found right down on Bearcreek on my farm.

I am so much engaged at present that it is impossible to write you a better letter, and I shall embrace the Opportunity by M^r. Williams who will leave from here to Monterey in about 5 or 6 days.

I remain very respectfully

Your

Most Obedient Servant

J A SUTTER

P. S.

I send you now the whole History of the last Revolution concerning the foreigners etc.

[Sutter's list of the Oregon Immigrants]

[Larkin Documents III, 215. Bancroft Library]

NAMES OF THE EMIGRANTS FROM THE OREGON
ARRIVED HERE THE 10th OF JULY 1845.

[Samuel] Green Mc Mahon (Capt. of the Compie.)	farmer.....	U. S.
Owen Sumner	Hatter	Do "
J ^s Clyman	farmer	Do "
L.[azarus] Everhart	Taylor	Do "
[R. K.] Payne.....	farmer	Do "
[Marion] Gibson	Do "	Do "
[James B.?] Barret.....	Do "	Do "
[Franklin] Sears	Blacksmith	Do "
[Martin] Brown	farmer	Do "
Buchanan	Carpenter & Wagonmaker.....	Do "
Hibbler [George Hibler].....	farmer	Do "
Huet [Adam Hewett?].	Do "	D
[Hiram] Acres	Do "	Do "
A. Frazler [Abner Frazer].....	Carpenter	Do "
W ^m Frazier [Frazer].....	farmer	Do "
F.[ranz] Lichtenstein.....	Soap Maker & Chandler.....	Germany
Th ^s Owens	farmer	U. S.
Ed. Owens	Do "	Do "
Sipp	Ship Carpenter	Do "
M.[orris or Moses] R. Childers.....	Cabinet Maker & Carp ^r	Do "
[James] Houck	farmer	Do "
[James?] Hays [or Hayes?].	Do "	Do "
Chace [S. U. Chase ¹³⁹].	Do "	Do "
Tharp [Lindy or Lindsey Thorp].....	Do "	Do "
[Benjamin] Carpenter	Do "	Do "
[William] Bartel	Do "	Do "
Le Noir [Lenoir].....	Hatter	France
[St. Vrain] Durand.....	Sawer	Canada
H.[enry] Owens	farmer	U. S.
James Owens	Do "	Do "
John Owens	Do "	Do "
W ^m Northgrave	Do "	Do "
A.[llen] Sanders	Blacksmith	U. S.
James W. Marshall[I] ¹⁴⁰	Coachmaker & Carp ^r	Do "
J. Cockram [Thomas Cochran].....	farmer	Do "
[Joseph H.] Davis	Sailor	Do "
Duncan	farmer	Do "
Purky [J. D. Perkey].....	Saddler	Do "
J. Ilig [John Ellig].....	Shoemaker	Germany
Mrs Payne (Widow and 3 Children ¹⁴¹		U. S.

[McMahon, the captain, was said to have been in California in 1841 with the Bidwell party. Owen Sumner, who came from Arkansas, arrived in Oregon in 1842 with Elijah White. The others, as far as known, had come across the plains in '43 and '44.

Of these forty wandering adventurers only twelve are known to have remained in California. At least that many of the others returned to Oregon the next year, and Owen Sumner accompanied Clyman to the States in '46.

Several members of this company served the next year in Frémont's California Battalion. Marshall, Perkey, Northgrave and Sanders went to work for Sutter. McMahon and Thorp settled permanently near Gordon's ranch.]

¹³⁹ Chase furnished a list of the members of Clyman's party, printed in *The Illustrated Atlas and History of Yolo County*, San Francisco: DePue and Company, 1879, p. 86. Chase speaks of Clyman as the captain.

¹⁴⁰ The next mention of Marshall, famous for his discovery of gold, is found in the *New Helvetia Diary*, Oct. 25, 1845 *et seq.*, MS. Bancroft Library.

¹⁴¹ Mrs. Payne was the daughter of Owen Sumner, the elder, who was with the party. She was married the next year to R. K. Payne.

[Continuation of the Diaries]

In the afternoon moved about 2 miles up to Mr [William] Gordons who is the only perminant settler on this (this Cash) [Cache] creek we found here two other american gentlemen to [w]it Mr Wolfscale and Mr Knight Mr Wolfscale¹⁴² it appears had lately been disposed of a very valuable Ranche or farm some 12 miles south of this and had his herds here by the pemission of Mr Gordon

13 Several of us started down the North side of the Bay of St Fracisco passed over dry level prarie about 12 miles the day being Extremely warm I took a sun pain in my head which almost prevented me from being able to ride for several hours passed the nearly dry channel of asmall river [Putah Creek] the water yet remaining being allmost scalding hot as it came slowly ripling down over a hot gravelly bed saw Quite a larg stock of cattle and Horses roaming through the vally of this creek Eight miles further on we came to some handsom little cornfields without any fenc Except the Indians who watch the stock (stock) from the grain after leaving this ranch [Berreyessa] we entered an oats field of wild oats as far as the eye could extend the whole country was thickly set in well grown oats straw the grain having dropped off Toward sundown the Mokitoes made a general and simultanious attact on ourselves and animals and although I had fought mosketois through the wabash Illinois and Mississippi vallies yet I never met with such a Quantity of Blood thirsty animals in any country as we found here your mouth nose Ears Eyse and every other assailable point had its thousand Enemies striving which should be formost in their thirst for Blood we continued to urge our animals on in hopes to pass the main army and so continued whipping spurring and cursing across the vally up a rocky steep mountain the musketoes ware still ahead down the opposite side of the mountain across another vally and up the steep sides of a higher mountain the enemy still met us in innumerable swarms and so continued to the topmost pinicl of the mountain whare tired exhausted and fatigued we at length about midnight lay down to sleep in the best way we might a thick fog hung over the mountain in the morning but the Mosketoes ware still there and so remained when we left

14 Left our Mosketoe camp on top of the mountain and desended in to a small handsome vally covered with stocks of cattle and Horses changed our course to the west passed a low range of hills and arived

¹⁴² A sketch of "Uncle John" Wolfskill appears in *Ann. Publ. Southern Calif. Hist. Society*, 1897, pp. 12-17. See also *The History of Solano County*, San Francisco: Thompson and West, 1878.

at Mr [George C.] Younts¹⁴³ ranch or farm on a small stream running a saw and grist mill her we sat down to a Breakfast of good mutton and coffee having rode 60 miles without food and mostly without water

15 Remained with our hospitable host Mr Yount who thought we had better stay to day and rest our animals

Here I witnessed the Mexican manner of taking in wheat Harvest a sufficient number of Indians are sent out with a rough kind of sickle who reap the wheat the squaws and others gather the grain up and pack it on their backs to a spot of ground ready prepared for threshing where the grain [is] lain down with the heads up an left to dry a day or two when a lot of wild horses is let in and the grain thrashed out

16 Left Mr Younts with a Mr. Hartgrove [William Hargrave] for the purpose of returning to Mr Gordons again by a mountain Rout and Escape the den of muschetoos on our former rout

Took a northern direction up the vally of the creek on which Mr Younts mills are situated 5 or 6 miles above passed the farm house of Dr. Bales [Edward Turner Bale] this hous looked desolate Enough standing on a dry plane near a dry Black vocanic mountain allmost destitute of (of) vegetation no fields garden or any kind of cultivation to be seen and about 10 or 12 Indians lying naked in the scorching sun finished the scenery of this rural domain

Continued our rout up the [Napa] vally Early in the afternoon arived at Mr [Benjamin] Kelseys Hunting camp where we found plenty of fine fat venison here we took up lodgings for the night the whole of this small valey is strewn with obsidian pmmice stone and Black slag and other remains of volcanoes which have existed at some remote period

17 Left our hospitable hunters camp and proceeded up the vally about 3 miles to another hunters camp found Mrs Kelsey a fine Looking woman at camp with her two little daughters it appears that they had occupied their present camp only over night Mr Kelsey being out with his gun soon returned with his hose laden down with the tallow and fat of two large Buck Elk that he had Slaughtered during the morning the Kettle was hung ower the fire and we soon had a plentiful meal of the fattest Kind of Elk meat bothe roast and stewed in the evening thre of us took our Rifles and walked to the hills in about two hours we returned haveing killed three fine Black tailed Bucks the Evening was spent in telling hunting stories and roasting and packing venison ribs

¹⁴³ George Yount's reminiscences were published in *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1, April, 1923.

18 Left Mr Kelseys camp on my return to Mr Gordons crosse the narrow vally and assended a rough volcanic mountain saw a number of deer that frequently stood gazing at us in easy Rifle shot distance about noon we had crossed the fourth mountain none being more than 2 hours ride across stoped to rest and graze on sooteers [Putah] River now Quite a small stream here we regaled ourselves on the Marrow bones of a deer that we had shot 60 or 80 rods from the water and we might have killed 8 or 10 had we spent the amunition during the fore noon In the afternoon we set forward again soon crossed over a narrow vally and commenced assending a steep high mountain in about 2 hours struggling our animals reached the rugged summit when we immediately commenced the desent which was much longer and rougher than the assent but not so steep I must remark that the mountains are litterly cowerd with deer and Bear theer are seen at a great distance winding around the steep precipices and Bear roads are generally passable for a Spanish horse or mule

19 Encamped last night 6 miles from Mr Gordons and rode in for Breakfast here we Feasted on the ribs of a fat antelope after Breakfast commenced desending the great plain west of the Sacremento which is as level as a pond appearantly and from 10 to 20 miles wid on the west of the river but no water found at this season of the year passed several miles through a pleasant oak grove to near the [Sacramento] river whare we encamped here we found the mosketoes so thick that it was nerely imposible to breathe without being strangled with them There being a large tuly or rush swamp about half a mile from the river these rush swamps are common to this vally large streams of water come tumbling down from the mountains soon loose themselves in the vally and spreading in all directions form extensive lakes of water after the rains cease to fall the lakes begin to dry up and the earth partially dry sends up an immense groth of weeds and rushes so high and strong that a horse is unable to breake through

20 Left our Musketoe camp on the river proceeded along the narrow strip of land deviding the river from the rush swamp the rushes in many places being 15 feet in hight and thicker than I ever saw hemp grow we continued following this strip of land untill we reached the Landing oposite Suitors fort whare we encamped the sacramento river here is upward of 200 yards wide deep and navigable the tide water ebbing and flowing about three feet

21 Crossed over the river by swiming our animals and crossing our baggage in a light whale Boat that was kept here by some of capt Suitors Indians Suitors fort is built of doba or large unburnt brick

and has an imposing appearance at a distance standing on an Elevated plain a few miles below the Junction of the American Fork with the Sacremento and Surrounded by wheat fields which have yielded a good crop of wheat this present season but have born nothing for two crops past but on a nearer inspection it is found that the whole Fort houses and all are built of doba or mud walls and covered in side and out with dust and fleas which grow her to the gratest perfection The Capt keeps 600 or 800 Indians in a complete state of Slavery and as I had the mortification of seeing them dine I may give ashort discription 10 or 15 Troughs 3 or 4 feet long ware brought out of the cook room and seated in the Broiling sun all the Lobourers grate and small ran to the troughs like somany pigs and feed themselves with their hands as long as the troughs contain even a moisture¹⁴⁴

[*Fort Sutter to Monterey*]

22 Left our camp on the creek an proceeded south over a dry level plain without timber or grass about 10 miles when we came to the channel of a dry creek some pools of standing water ware found after pasing our dry creek passed over a shrubby oak plain about 8 miles to a smal river running over sandy bed and nearly swimming deep crossed over with some difficulty and encamped on the South side so far we have seen but little land fit for cultivation of any discription the high lands being poor and liable to anual drougths of a verry severe kind the lowlands are anually over flown to a greate depth during the rainy season

23 our not being able to obtain any meat of capt Sutter kept us travilling and hunting being again dependant on our Rifles for a living passed a dry sandy oak plain of about 18 miles across we came to the low marshy lands bordering the head of the St Francisco bay up which we passed to the head of a deep navigable ceek or Slough whare we encamped haveing nothing better than the warm stagnant warm Slough water to use this parte of the country would afford a few ranches for stock but is not inhabited on account of a warlike tribe of Indians that range over it and follow robbing stealing and sometimes murdering all the inhabitants and frequently travellers that pass or remain here any length of time

24 Remaind in camp to day for the purpose of hunting Elk and antelope in which we succeeded but moderately

25 Took up the line of march across a dry hard level plain 8 miles

¹⁴⁴ John Henry Brown was about this time engaged as overseer of Sutter's cook-house and butcher-shop. In his book, *Reminiscences and Incidents* (San Francisco: 188.), Brown makes similar comments upon the table manners of the Indians.

a large rush swamp lying to our right apparently without any termination and only bounded by the Bay after passing a few miles of rush swamp we reached the north Bank of the St Waukien [San Joaquin River] over which we passed on rafts made of Rushes this river has a S.E. and N.W. direction Traveled about 6 miles down the South side of the river to a deep navigable Bayau where we encamped and feasted largely on the fattest kind of Buck Elk flesh which was killed near the camp and was in a manner all tallow

the St Waukien is over 200 yards wide and deep and navigable running through a large dry level plain litterly covered with Elk and wild horses a Tribe of Indians reside on the river who hold indisputable possession of the country & steal & kill

26 crossed the plian about 10 miles wide to the Mountain saw several herds of wild Horses an Elek one herd of Elk had a grand appearance containing more than 2000 Two thousand head and covering the plain for more than a mile in length crossed a low bare range of mountains and soon came to Mr [Robert] Livermores farm or Ranche made 30 miles and encamped at a ranche Belonging to a Mixican [Antonio María Suñol] who with his Indian slaves ware Slaughtering cattle for the hides and tallow and a more filthy stinking place could not be easily immagined The carcasses of 2 or 300 cattle haled 20 rods from the slaughter ground and left to the vultures wolves and Bears several of the latter ware seen feeding or silently moving off to the mountains at early dawn in the morning The common price of fat cattle is estimated at Eight dollars Two dollars for the hide and six dollars for the tallow all in Trade cash is not Expected and not often demanded

27 We frequently ride 20 miles without a drop of water and most of the water found is in stagnant pools covered with a thick skum of green vegetable matter now in full Bloom Left our Slaughter yard camp and proceeded down the course of a stagnant pool for some miles when we crossed over the dry channel of a Broad Creek and assended a mountain by a verry good pass had a fair view of Pawblaw Bay¹⁴⁵ anarm of the Bay of St Francisco on the immediate discent from the mountain wacame in sight of the formerly flurishing mission of St Joseph [San José] this mission in its best days must have contained several Hundred in mates the whole establishment Houses fences church and all is built of doba

These Missions ware Established some 70 years since and occupy the choise situations in the country and have fine vinyards and Fruit

¹⁴⁵ Obviously San Francisco Bay, not San Pablo Bay.

orchards such as Figs pears peaches &c &c but I do not recollect seeing any apple Trees or apples Tobacco cotton or sweet potatoes it is said do not thrive well in this climate and in fact I do not hear of any grain or vegetables that do well Except wheat Barly or some grains that mature Early in the season before the drought [drought] sets in which usually commences in may or June

The Mexicans do not labour themselves the native indians perform all the labour and are kept in slavery much like the Negroes of the Southern states but not worked so steady or hard as all depend largely on their cattle stock for support and some fine Blankets are Here manufactured from the wool of their sheep The Mexican Ladies when they ride out alone mount a mans saddle in the same manner their husband would but frequently the husband takes his wife on before him and takes hold of the pommel of his saddle with his arms around his bride and this method looks Quite loveing and kind and might be relished by the single

28 Left our camp at purbelow village [pueblo of San José] and took up a fine narrow vally [Santa Clara Valley] in a Southern direction this vally has the appearance of being good soil of a lieght yallow complection But no cultivation is seen larger than a good sized vegetable garden This vally is in many places completely covered over with the bones of cattle that have been slaughtered from time to time along the way and has been at sone time a regular settlement the old mud walls of cottages are stil seen standing but later seasons seem to have been dryer than formerly & the want of water has driven the inhabitants to a more moist region

The Indians Likewise have become more bold and troublesome driving off [f] their stock continually at least such as happen to range in the mountains and the more unfrequented places and we ware told that a large herd of horses ware driven off from the hills in sight of our camp three days since

29 The vallies ware wrapped in a white fog the sun however arose in greate force and splendor and soon disperced the smoke & fog Passed down a vally somewat more fertile crossed some narrow ridges and (and) came in sight of the Mision of St Johns [San Juan Bautista] with its mud walled out buildings and fences of the same material. here lay scattered about numerous small corn fields Bean and mellon patches some Indians ware in a wheat or Barly field reaping the straw and grain dry as powder left the church and princeple mission vinyards to the left and assended a high range of hills from the summit of which we caught a glanc through the fog of the Broad Pacific ocean or rather the North side of St Cruz Inlet and a broad plain

30 Left our camp on the San
River and proceeded over a very
deep sand plain to Monterey
Lying on the South East point of
the Santa Cruz mts. The capital
of California has a dingy black
dirty appearance owing to the
houses being built mostly of
Coba or whurbt brick ~~and~~
and covered with tile. The town
contains perhaps 80 or 100 houses
and hovels of all kinds and descrip-
tions no fresh is found but what
is obtained from wells and that
is quite brackish. The Mexican
flag was seen flying near the
dwelling of the commander
and the stars and stripes at the
house of Mr Larkins the American
Counsel as likewise from two
ships in the Harbour. The sloop of
war Warren commanded by Capt
Hull and the California of Boston
Capt Arthur we rode to Dr
Townsend an American who
came from the States by land last
season where we put up found
the Dr a good feeling man much
attached to his own opinions
as likewise to the climate and
country of California his a plea-
sant lady does not enter in to
all of her husbands chimerical
speculations called on Mr
Thomas O Larkins the consul and
delivered him all the various letters
and documents intrusted to my
care but owing to the wrecking of a
British merchant vessel and the

through which a small river passes along the south side water seems to be the greate dissideratum in this dry arid region and whare ever you find even a stagnant pool of Brackish water you find a small mud walled cottage a Mixican and half a dozen Indians with their stock of cattle and horses they never leave ther horses uless they lay down to sleep

30 Left our camp on the small [Salinas] River and proceeded over a dry deep sand plain to Monteray Lying on the South East point of the Santa Cruz inlet The capitol of California has a dingy Black dirty appearanc owing to the Houses being built mostly of Doba or unburt brick and covered with tile the Town contains perhaps 80 or 100 houses and Hovels of all kinds and discriptions no fresh [water] is found but what is obtained from wells and that is Quite brackish the Mexican flag was seen flying near the dwelling of the commandant and the Stars and stripes at the house of Mr Larkins [Thomas O. Larkin] the amirican counsel as Likewise from Two ships in the Harbour The sloop of war warren commanded by Cap^t [Joseph B.] Hull and the california of Boston cap^t Arthur [James P. Arther] we rode to Dr Townsends [John Townsend¹⁴⁶] an amercans who came from the States by land last season whare we put up found the Dr a good feeling man much attached to his own oppinions as likiwise to the climate and country of California his [wife] a pleasant lady does not enter into all of her husbands chimerical speculations Called on Mr Thomas O Larkins the consul and dilivered him all the various letters and documents intrusted to my care¹⁴⁷ but owing to the wrecking of a Brittish merchant vesel on the coast some six miles south Mr Larkins time was completely occupied in endeavouring to save what

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Geo. D. Lyman, *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, vol. 4, no. 2, July, 1925, pp. 170-72 and portrait.

¹⁴⁷ See p. 147, for Larkin's answer to White.

The letter from Elijah White to Larkin regarding the Hedding murder is contained in *Larkin Docs.* III, 155, Bancroft Library. Writing from Oregon, White says:

As this unhappy affair agetates and embarrasses our relations with too large a portion of the aborigines of this country for a Moments Safety to us in our weak and defenceless condition, I can but hope and pray You will give Me Your cheerful cooperation in assisting to get it adjusted upon the princeples of equity and justice.

For farther information upon this painful affair I with pleasure refer You to Mr Clyman who has kindly proffered to render us every service in his power in getting the Matter Satisfactorily adjusted.

Could the Murderer be givin up and Safely forward to Me I have No doubt but this would be the surest and Safest Manner to dispose of the affair—but Sir as this May be impracticable I with pleasure and confidence, leave the whole Matter in the hands of Yourself and Mr Clyman for adjustment and rectification Not doubting but You will do every thing in Your power to bring it as Speedily as possible to the happiest possible issue.

property might be saved so that I had but little conversation with him¹⁴⁸

a low range of hills run south of the town covered thinly [with] pine timber and rising in to steep high mountains toward the East

I saw but few Ladies in the streets perhaps on account of the great Quantity of dust and sand that is seen in every direction The English Language is spoken here more or less by most of the inhabitants Indians Excepted There may be some place called the fort intended for the protection of the Town or harbour but I was not fortunate Enough to find that spot I saw however several small pieces of small cannon mounted in the Prison yard or rather on the commons near the prison The cliffs around the harbour are of redish grey granite in a state of decomposition some stone however is used in the foundation of some of the houses of a white colour and nearly light Enough to swim

[*Monterey to Napa Valley*]

31 Left Monterey and took back northward to Santa Cruz where we arrived in the Evening of (of) the First of August

Santa Cruz is likewise an old mission establishment and occupies a beautiful situation about 2 miles from the coast and has some fine spring of water from which the fathers draw their water to irrigate their gardens

This place is likewise dignified by the name of a village scattered along the steep bluffs of a small stream the low grounds have a number of half cultivated gardens as is usual through all Mexican countries The Mexicans nor Foreigners never Labour in province Except Mechanics all the out doors labour is performed by the native Indians who are kept in a state of slavery and receive no pay Except what their masters choose to give them they are a Lazy indolent race and nearly and Quite naked those who are house servants excepted which if females wear a long chemise the climate indeed does not seem to require clothing at this season of the year Except it may be to keep the scorching sun from blistering but in this the natives are proof against any common Heat

2 & 3 of August remained with the far famed and redoubtable Capt [Isaac] Graham The hero of Mr. [Thomas J.] Farnham's travels in California and in fact the hero of six or seven revolutions in this province and the chivalrous captain has again during the last winter passed through the ordeal of one more revolution and again been a

¹⁴⁸ This was the schooner *Star of the West*, Captain Atherton, wrecked on the rocks off Point Lobos on the night of July 27. The destitute survivors were forced to depend upon Larkin's generosity. See *Larkin's Official Correspondence*, no. 46 *et seq.*, Bancroft Library.

prisoner in the hands of his old Enemy Colonel Castro the Eex governor and has once more returned to his peacable domicil to his heards and his [saw] mill surrounded by impassable mountains about Eight miles from the Landing of Santa Cruz and if report be correct the hardy vetrian is fast softning down and he is about to cast away the deathly rifle and the unerring tomahawk for the soft smiles of a female companion to nurrish him in his old age¹⁴⁹ and here I must say that the captain has all the Philanthropy and Kindneess for his country men that has ever been attributed to him Inviting me to return and remain with him free of cost as long as I might find it convinient or as long as I wished to remain in californnia.

4 I Left capt Grahams with many invitations to call again before leaveing californnia we took a small difficult bridle way that [led] across a verry rugged mountain for Santa Clare and the village Puebla [of San José] whare we arived in the Evening Two days previous to our arival the mountain Indians had made a desent upon Santa Clare killed one and wounded two of the horse guard and stolen a herd of Horses and the inhabitants ware in pursuit of the Murderers in the mountain we had Just passed through we came through however without seeing either party and slept soundly with Mr Weaver [Charles M. Weber] (a german who speaks good Eenglish) in the vilage of Puabla and in the morning of the

5 we left our kind and hospitable entertainer and bent our course north along that arm of the Bay of St Francisco which communicates with the Mission of Santa Clara in our way down we passed over a beautiful tract of land well stoccked with herds of cattle and a ranche or farm was to be seen in every place whare Living water could be found this tract or vally however is verry dry and water scarce (that is fresh water)

In the Evening of the Sixth we reached Penola [Pinole] or the [Carquinez] Straits or narrows of the Bay of St Francisco whare we encamped for the night a Californian [Ignacio Martinez] who owns the ranche or farm on the South side of the Bay keeps a Boat and with the assistance of his Boat we crossed over in the afternoon of the

7 in this we had the mots tiresome and Longest swim for our mules that I had so far seen the wind and tide both setting up the bay which is here about a mile wide it carried us up the Bay more than Two miles before we ware able to land and we ware certainly more than 2

¹⁴⁹ Graham was living with Catherine Bennett. Larkin made unsuccessful efforts to have the girl taken away. Perhaps the authorities in Santa Cruz stood in awe of the doughty Captain, who was noted for his bravado. See *Larkin's Official Correspondence*, no. 59, *et seq.*, Bancroft Library.

hours making the passage These narrows are formed by a range of bare rocky hills or mountains running North across the vally and Bay we found fresh water scarce through all this region But cattle appear to do better and get fatter on brackish water than on good clear spring water on our passage out of the narrows we observed greate and Extensive Bull Rush marches lying to the west of our trail to a greate distance

8 We arived at Mr Younts again on Napper creek completely satisfied with travelling through California for in 28 days travel mostly through the spanish settlments we never found one grain of food for our animals and only three places whare we slept in houses and these three owned by foreigners There is no such thing as a tavern in california as I am informed. The settlements being thin and widely scattered you scarcely ever find two farmsers approach nearer than five miles of each other in fact the cultivation of the soil is but verry little attended to by even the americans in this country large herds of cattle seem to be all that a californian desires and those large herds require space to g[r]aze upon so that from six to 12 miles square forms a common ranche or farm some place is then sought then whare living water can be obtained here a small doba or mud walled cotage is erected covered with grass tile or shingles as the case may be without either floors or windows Tables chairs or any other furniture one or two hundred head of young cattle and fifteen or 20 head of Horses and you are prepared for becomeing rich in process of time and living a true california life

If However you have a disposition to eat bread with your beef all you have to do is to cut out a suitable branch from some crooked oak and with an axe hew it in to convenient form nail a small piece of Iron on the lower projecting extemity hitch a yoke of cattle to the forward end lay hold of the other end with your hands and you have what is used for a plow this instrument however does not either cut or turn the soil but merely roots a narrow streak whare it is drawn but with this kind of cultivation I am told that the yield is frequently on some of the best spots from 50 to 100 fold of wheat (Barly or peas not so much) corn or other vegitables requiring the whole of the summer season to mature in must be planted near some conviniant brook whare the water can be let on one in Ten days or oftener to supply the want of rain in the latter part of the season and this irigating plan is required throughout the whole of California or nearly so to produce any kind of grain or vegitables that do not mature by the first of July the native grasses and weeds being all dry by that time and the Praries frequently burnt over by that time I imagine

that but few americans would like the county or the people or any thing they may find at first sight unless it be the fine fat Beef which is used and wasted here in the greatest profusion and every Californian foreigner or native has plenty of fresh beef to his table if he has such a piece of furniture at all times corned Beef is seldom found and salt never as there is no part of the season cool Enough to salt Beef a kind of Jerked or dried Beef is generally used by the Indians but their Laziness and negligence prevents it from being any thing like good and they would rather dig roots for a precarious subsistence for half the year than to take the trouble of making good dried meat to live on and through this negligent and careless habit hundreds of Tuns of the fattest kind of Beef is wasted every season in California alone, and in fact the want of a little cooler season is a great drawback on the productions of the county there being no time cool Enough to salt Beef so as to save it well at sea although nearly every Californian will tell you to that effect [it] has not been thoroughly tested and if it is left to them it never will be tested Judging from appearances Beans is one of the regular crops of the Californians and beef and beans forms one of their favorite dishes Red pepper is likewise cultivated largely and enters in to all their cookery in great profusion. I do not believe that Tobacco Cotton or sweet potatoes do well as I have seen neither growing in any part of this region although there is quite a variety of climate found here

[The rest of this page and the following page are blank.]

14 Left Mr Younts and went up the valley of Napper creek to some hunters camps with the intention of having some sport arrived in the Evening at Mr Kelseys camp which was well supplied with fine fat venison and Elk meat plenty of Bear in the neighbourhood but they are not fat at [this] season of the year and so are not hunted

15 Got a horse of Mr Kelsey and rode out after Breakfast to see what game might be seen after riding in the hills some 2 miles and starting several deer which ran off I discovered two deer lying under the shade of a Tree dismounted and in approaching them one of them discovered me and sprang to his feet I brought my rifle to bear on him and fired he sprang off in great haste and in a few bounds was out of sight reloaded and as the other was not alarmed I crawled nigher and rising to my feet I distinctly saw his Ears and one eye taking deliberate aim for his eye I pulled trigger the deer sprang and bounded End wise side ways & in fact in all directions having his brains shot out Reloaded and walked over the ridge to see what had become of the other I heard a desperate screaming and squalling in that direction and on a nearer approach discovered a large she

Bear had got my deer in possession and the squalling proceeded from three others Two cubs and a yearling which ware contending for a portion of the venison the old she snapping and Boxing them whenever they approached she soon turned the vital part of her front to me and the keen crack of my rifle told her the tale of death The others not at all intimidated soon fell to tearing devouring and Quarelling over the carcase of the deer again I soon ramed down another ball and taking aim at the yearling brought her to the earth with many a growl and struggle she died tearing the brush with her teeth and claws I then laid down my rifle as the cubs had become frightened and fled into the brush in walking down to whare the farthest one lay however the cubs raised the yell and came back in Quest of their dam and I had to give way and give them a free passage I thought however I could frighten them and cutting a good cudgel advanced on them in turn but they gave every symtom of fight short of laying hold of me and I had to retreat the second time as soon as an oppertunity occurred I caught my rifle again and promised distruction to the intire family of bears but in my greate hurry to load I put down a ball without powder and after several fruitless attempts to kill the cubs I was forced from the field of battle and left the bears in full possession of the venison

16 Mr Kelsey rode out withe me in to a small cove in the mountains whare we had rare sport shooting deer Bringing in nine skins in the Evening the most of the meat being left on the ground for the wolves and vultures and of the latter the county seems to be remarkbly well stocked Beside the raven and turky Buzzard of the states you see here the royal vulture in greate abundance frequently measureing Fourteen feet from the extremity of one wing to the extremity of the other¹⁵⁰

17 Hunted again with poor success killing but Four deer

18 Five deer came in to camp three of which I brought in myself From the 18 to the

22 we assisted in building and covering a cabbin as it [is] soon Expected that (it) the early showers of rain will commence falling some fog appeared on the mountains this morning

23 Continues beautiful weather warm through the day and cool nights the wheat harvest finished

25 started for Suitors Fort on the sacramento River we ware interrupted considerably last night by two large bear that made several attempts to take our venison laying on a log fifteen or 20 feet from the fire—

¹⁵⁰ This is stretching it considerably, even for the California condor. Condors are now rare and are not known to exceed ten feet in total spread of wings.

26 crossed several steep rugged mountains these ridges forming the mountains over which we passed seem to have been shot up from the East and stand in greater regularity at an angle of 50 or 60 degrees with the Horizon and are generally dry having but few springs of living water in them

27 at Mr Gordons—

28 I was lucky enough to find my horses again that I had left running at large Mr Gordon Recieved a small box of sugar cane from the Sandwich Islands and is about to try the Experiment of growing sugar in this vally but I imagine he will find this country too dry for the cultivation of sugar—

31 Returned yestarday the day being Extremely warm and we rode 60 miles between sun and sun over a verry rough mountainous road but this is not an uncommon dys ride for the inhabitants of [this] country 80, 90 and even 100 miles is sometimes performed on the same horse without food or rest

[September] the first 1845 Extreme warm weather the parched rocks and Earth reflect an intense heat the rivers and small streams failling rapidly

Sunday the 8th of Septembr was Quite warm rode out over the hills taking my rifle with me had Quite a variety of shooting Killed 5 Deer one large grissled Bear one wild cat and a Royal vulture this is the largest fowl I have yet seen measuring when full grown full 14 feet from the extemity of one wing to the extemity of the other Like all the vulture tribe this fowl feeds on dead carcasses but like the Bald Eagle prefers his meat fresh and unputrefied they seem [to] hover over these mountains in greater numbers are never at the least fault for their prey but move directly and rapidly to the carcase cutting the wind with their wings and creating a Buzzing sound which may [be] heard at a miles distance and making one or two curves they immediately alight and commence glutting

A NOTE

The only long gap in the Clyman Diaries occurs during the months of September, October and November of 1845, when Clyman visited San Francisco. Two documents relating to this period survive. The first is a petition, signed by Clyman and sixteen others, addressed to Larkin and urging him to protect the foreign residents of San Francisco against disorders arising on account of an assault on the person of Captain Elliott Libbey of the American Ship *Tasso*. Captain Libbey and Nathan Spear had been set upon in the streets of San Francisco by the citizens' patrol and the Captain received severe knife wounds which endangered his life. The attackers belonged to native families prominent in the town, and it was feared that the guilty persons would not be brought to trial. The petitioners asked that the American Sloop of War *Levant* should remain in the Bay and prepare to assist. Larkin forwarded this petition to Commander Hugh N. Page of the *Levant* with the request that his ship remain in the harbor in order to accelerate proceedings against the criminals.¹⁵¹

The second document is a short answer by Larkin to a letter of Clyman's in which information is requested as to what had been done regarding the murder of the Walla Walla Indian, Elijah Hedding. As this completes the records of the Hedding affair, given elsewhere in this narrative, it is quoted here.

[Larkin to Clyman regarding the Hedding Affair]

[Larkin's Official Correspondence, I, No. 65. Bancroft Library]

San Francisco, October 29, 1845.

Consulate of the United States

Sir.

In answer to your request for information in what I have done in the case of the North West Indian, against Grove Cook, of the United States now living in this Department: I have to say, that from the representation made by Sub Agent, White, to his Department in Washington, I sent a copy to Governor Pico of California, which has been translated, I also offered my services to him in the affair; when I left my Consular House the former month, no answer had been received from Governor Pico.

An account of my proceedings I wrote to the Sub-Agent, and sent to Captain Gordon of H. B. M. Ship America, who left here in August, as we supposed for the Columbia River, he refused to receive it under the plea that he was not bound there; I am in expectation to forward the letter next month by some other vessel.

James Clyman Esq'. } *I am Sir*

San Francisco } *Your most Obd^t. Sv^t.*

Signed— THOMAS O. LARKIN

¹⁵¹ Larkin's Official Correspondence, I, No. 63. Bancroft Library.

BOOK 7

[Continuation of the Clyman Diaries]

[Front Cover]

December 1845

[*California in 1845*]

December the 1st 1845

Owing to my breaking my ink stand and loosing pencil I have not been able to write any since the First of sept since which time I visited San Francisco or Herba Buano and the most of the Bay of San Francisco — The Entrance into this noble bay is fine and Easy of access all vessels passing in and out by the chart with out even a pilot the harbour inside being spacious and completely land locked to the North and west by a high rocky ridge or promontory to the south the land is not so high but is sufficiently high and permanent for good security the achorage is good and secure and good fresh water easily obtained in greate abundance from a spring on the North side of the bay The land However near the entrance of the bay is not fit for cultivation or at least but small portions of it it being generally dry sandy or gravelly soil some fine grazing lands are However found no advantages can be had for Hydraulic purposes whatever which is a great drawback against this noble bay The Sacramento and the St Joachim are the main feeders the former is a beautifull streem and is probably nageable for steam boats 200 miles from its mouth the later is Quite a large River but when low is not navigable to any considerable distance two small creeks one from the north and the other from the south is all ([continued on] the p[age] 13)

[Much of what follows is written at various places in the note-book on the lower parts of the pages, below the diary]

the fresh water in the dry season that falls into the Bay Both the larger Rivers have their Sources in a Broad high rugged rang of mountains dividing the plains of the Coast from the greate salt Lake valy Lying East of the above mentioned vally and west of the main chain of Rocky mountains seperating the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific

Beside these two greate chains of mountains there is still another chain running near and paralell with the coast this like all the others is in many places high and extremely rugged and its perpendicular cliffs in many places stay the Bosterous waves of the Pacific and if report be correct it [is] probably the most rugged Desolate coast yet known for som hundreds of [miles] north [of] the Bay of San Francisco

These three greate and lengthy chains of mountains are in many places connected by cross chains such as The Umpiqaw dividing th

Willhamett from the umpiquaw River the Clamet dividing the waters of the umpiquaw and clamett Rivers the Siskiew dividing the waters of the Clamet and Chesty rivers and the still mor high and rugged range of the Snowy Bute [Mount Shasta] seperating the waters of the Clamet and sacremento with innumerable spurrs of mountains Jutting out in all directions from both and all the main chains and numbers of Isolated and detached hills Knobbs and mountains standing and running in all immaginable directions making the vallies generally small winding and narrow But generally Beautifull and picturesque and well clothed in native grasses

The — Callifornians are a proud Lazy indolent people doing nothing but ride after herds or from place to place without any appearant object The Indians or aboriginees do all the drudgery and labour and are kept in a state of Slavery haveing no or Receeving no compensation for their labour except a scanty allowence of subsistance during the time they actually imployed and perhaps a cotton Shirt and wool sufficient to make a coarse Blanket which they spin and weave in their own way Their method of manufacturing is simple and curious They beat the wool with two sticks in place of cards and when it is beaten enough they spin it with a stick and lay the warp by driveing a number of small sticks in the ground it [is] raised by letting a stick run through sufficiently to pass a smal ball through and brought up with the sane stick of course their fabrick is coarse but they make it verry durable The californian Plough is a curosimy in agriculture being made of a forked branch of a tree one prong of which answers for a handle the other for (the other for) a Land side mould Board Coulter & all haveing a small piece of Iron on the forward part about the size of a mans hand and half an inch thick Harrow no such thing known

A small Quantity of wheat a patch of corn and Beans — with some garden vegetables constitute all the agracultural products of the main bulk of the californians not half sufficient for a supply and a greate portion of the inhabitants live exclusively on Beef and mutton both of which are remarkably fine and fat but want the fine flour and vegetables to make a good meal for an American Several kinds of red peppers are grown in greate abundance and enter largely in to the californian cookery so much so as to nearly strangle a Forigner and you find it necessary to have a good apatite to swallow a meal no such thing as a good flouring mill is to be found but every family have a small hand mill on which they mash their grain when they have any to mash and a coarse sive for a Bolt Their bread is made in thin wafer like cakes and baked slowly untill they are as hard as a sea buiscket Thier

sheep are small and produce a small Quantity of coarse wool along the back the belly being entirely bare Their cattle are of a good size and handsomely built some farms or Ranches have from Five to Twenty thousand head of neat stock on them with large stocks of horses and sheep no such thing as a woollen Factory is known nor in fact a manufactory of any kind or description and even a coarse woollen hat sells from five to eight dollars The trade of the country is carried on by some Eight or ten vessels fitted out from Boston with dry goods which they sell at from three to five hundred percent advance on prime cost and take Hides and Tallow in return The tallow is generally sold in the south american mining districts and the hides salted and carried home it usually takes about Three year to make a trading trip of this kind

The government of this province has like all the spanish american governments gone through several Revolutions and changes But I believe every change has been for the worse and all though it took a recent change about one year since no change is precieveable except that the revenue has fallen into the hands of other persons The revenue is small and wholly used up by the collectors not a cent going to the central government no such thing as a court of Justice is known higher than an Alcaldas court which is equivalent to a Justice of the peace in the United States and [the] alcalda is bound by no Law but his own opinions which decides all differences

In Fact the civil The Military and all parts of the Govenment are weak imbecile and poorly organized and still less respected and in fact but little needed as the inhabitants live so Isolated as to have but little intercourse with each other and therefore few difficulties to settle

The Forigners which have found their way to this country are mostly a poor discontented set of inhabitants and but little education hunting for a place as they [want] to live easy only a few of them have obtained land and commenced farming and I do not hear of but one man that has gone to the trouble and Expence to get his tittle confirmed and fixed beyond altiration and dispute

In speaking of the government of california I must say that (that) it is the most free and easy government Perhaps on the civilized globe no Taxes are imposed on any individual what ever I saw nor heard of no requirement for Roade labour no Military tax no civil department to support no Judiciary requiring pay and in every respect the people live free you may support Priest or not at your pleasure and if your life and property are not Quite so safe as in some other countries you have the pleasure of using all your earnings And strange as it may seem I never saw a spanish Californian that was a mechanic

of any kind or discription and how they formerly made (made) out to cultivate any land is a mistery to me not yet solved nor do I recollect of seeing during my stay in this povince one single instance of a californian having a rail or stone fence all their fencing being made of Brush or willows woven in the form of a Basket and in some few Instances they had taken root and made a living fenc and ware they cut and set in the proper season most of them would live ——

Callifornia as a general is scarce of valuable timber the oak predominates and consists of Black oak two or three verieties white oak 5 or 6 kinds Live oak three or 4 verieties but all the oak tribe is short and shrubby and of but little use except for fire wood The Red Fir grow in considerable Quantities in some of the mountains but is likewise hard and gnarled The red wood is generally fine Straight and large but is only found plenty in some of the mountainous districts this is the timber spoken of by travelers as growing to such immense hight and size the appearance [of] this wood much resembles our red cedar it generally splits straight and easy and is certainly a noble tree but is never found on the plains and only on a few of the mountains except those near the coast whare it is found plentifully in places and is fine for building covering and finishing houses and is the only timber fit for making rail fences or in fact to split for any other purpose the mountains are generally all covered with impenetrable thickets of evergreen shrubery which is of no use to the farmer or mechanick it being too small and rough for any usefull purpose in some places neare the coast however it is burned into charcoal and some other Districts a certain kind is Burned for the ashes that it produces containing uncommon Quantities of Potash and perhaps soda or some other mineral which enters freely into the operation of soap making in fact the country produces a root that has all the Qualities of soap and requires nothing but smashing and mixing with the water to have good soap suds as the wash women call it

Dec 2^d Started out on a Bear hunt crossed the Napa vally and a high rough high rugged mountain and encamped on the north side of the Kiota vally our company consisting of six and a boy and six Extra pack Horses ——

[Dec.] 3 A Frosty night and a cool morning packed up and trotted off north ward over a range of hills covered with Chimisall and other shrubery on the side of a steep bald hill we came to a large natural soda fountain which sparkled up in its own rock formed basin this fountain contains a large portion of soda but a small Quantity of gass saw several Bear at a distance which appered to be mostly poor and not worth the shooting saw a number of recently

made tracks four of us parted two to the right and two to the left of our rout

heard a fire commenced by (by) those to our left and soon saw two gray bears coming growling in a direction toward us my companion and me dismounted and as soon as they came in good rifle distance we fired and droped both at the first fire the old shee however did not die Quite so easy but at last gave up after recieving four balls through her vitals

Encamped on the outlet of an Extensive large lake [Clear Lake] Lying noar the summit of a high range of mountains this lake is said to be 80 miles [!] in length from S. E. to N. W. its feeders however must be limited as there is no running water in the outlet only a few miles from the Lake or Lagoon is it is called Feasted Luxuriently on fat Bear ribs and liver — our leaders did not think the Bear plenty Enough to make a full hunt here so we packed up & moved on northward

4 Crossed a low range of Black chimisal mountains and struck the North fork of cache creek hed consultation whither to go North further or change our course to the East finally took the Eeastern rout down Cache creek and encampe^d at the head of a verry long Rough Kenyon no Bear seen to day —

5 Took down the Kenyon over immense piles of loose rocks that choked the stream in its narrow channel our horses however made slow but sure progress down the Kenyon untill at length we found any further passage down the Kenyon impossible so we commenced the assent of a verry steep high mountain on the north side of the creek after greate toil and a profusion of kicks and stripes our animals gained the summit the ridge up which we came being so narrow as to bearly admit of one horse to pass at a time and the sides a nearly perpendicular desent for some thousand feet below The turn of this mountain proved to be a close thicket of Brush through which we forced ourselves to the vally below Encamped on cash creek

6 continued down the vally and crossed near the main mountain here we stoped and Examenid the mountain But found no Bear but saw enumerable Quantities of deer but as we ware not hunting deer we only killed deer Enough to make camp meat no Bear seen

7 moved on again down the mountain near the greate Sacramento plain saw greate Quantities of deer but no bear and encamped [on] pooter [Putah] creek close under a Kenyon

8 moved up through the Kenyon to near its uppermost verge here we had again to assent a tremendous high steep mountain almost impracticable for a horse to climb and turn a narrow sharp ridge and

desend again on the oposite side whare we reached a fine vally well stocked with cattle and hoses continued up the vally to the head of the same and Encamped on pooter creek again one man went home and Took all our Extra baggage and a heavy horse load of Bears grease —

9 Moved up Pooter creek & through and around several steep rocky Kenyons in the afternoon arived at an uneven rocky vally which in any other country might be called a mountain saw some indications of Bear and encamped for the purpose of hunting them several ware soon seen and a number of guns ware fired and one large old fat fellow lay dead the others all making their escape

10 after some considerable hunting and fireing we made out to kill another

11 Two men with pack horses returned home with the slaughtered animals which proved to be very fat

12 Killed one more fine fat bear

13 & 14 hunted hard without (out) sucess

15 A man returned to camp with fresh horses

16 and 17 Slaughtered two more noble animals and got them safe to camp concluded we had pork Enough to answer our purposes

18 slaughtered 17 deer and made preperations for returning home

19 Returned home heavily (heavily) laden with Bear meat and venison

[What follows appears on several pages, below the main entries of the diary]

REMARKS ON BEAR HUNTING

all the bear in this country are of grisled or grey species and are extremely dangerous when wounded and in fact frequently attact the hunter or other passenger without any provocation Except being in-turupted in their lair Therefore the hunter has to bé verry cautious in his approach and scarcely ever attempts to drive him out of his fastnesses Their time of feeding being in the night the hunter watches him late in the Evening or Early in the morning when he is going to or returning from his feeding grounds Taking if possible the advantage of some inaccessable cliff of rocks Bank or Tree or is mounted on a good swift horse off of which he shoots never dismounting untill the bear is dead generally two or three men go in company and when the bear is discovered they all aproach in good rifle distance one firing one at a time in slow succession when if their balls take a good impression it so confuses the animal that he is kept continually fighting the ball holes which he never fails to do so that he has no time to attact the hunters untill it is to late — one which we had the Luck to kill was seen passing to his lair in the morning after sun

rise two men attacked him and gave him five shots at a vital part of his body when he made his Escape to an almost impenetrable thicket in an hour after three of us well mounted followed him more than a mile where we found him badly wounded and in good disposition for a fight I however had the luck to get a shot at him taking him close behind the shoulder when he broke back for a desperate thicket several guns were fired at him on his retreat but he made his Lair and defied all our methods to draw him out again until one man at the risk of himself and horse ventured in to the thicket cutting open a retreat with his butcher Knife at length the bear charged on him the other man standing on an Eminence shot at him as he passed an open aperture through the brush and had the luck to shoot him in the head on butchering him we found nine balls had taken good effect but owing to the great thickness of the fat on his sides only one had passed in to his lungs he proved to be a noble animal yielding more than three Hundred pounds of oil —

The whole of our hunt amounting nine fine fat bear and about 30 Deer

The whole of the country we passed over during our long hunting Excursion is rough and rocky beyond description and all the rock and Earth of a volcanic origin mostly of a vitrious and red cast large Quantities of slag and other volcanic rocks standing universally in a nearly perpendicular direction and Extremely rough and sharp the tops and sides covered with several kinds of hardy Evergreen shrubs nearly as sharp and hard as steel and growing generally from 4 to 10 Feet high and closely interwoven the sides of the mountains covered in addition with immense Quantities of loose rock which have fallen from time to time from the higher regions of the cliffs and lay piled in the utmost confusion below —

20 Fine and clear

21 A hard stiff frosty morning in fact we have had Thirty Two regular successive frosty mornings all though the days have been Quite fine and warm

22 It rained some during the night and morning —

23 More rain during the night and thick fog all day with several rapid showers of rain

24 A steady rapid rain fell during the whole of the day the first rain of consequence that has fallen since leaving the Willhamett valley on the Eighth of June last

25 December 1845

Christmas it rained all night the morning thick and foggy with several short Rapid showers the grass and wild oats However is

Quite green and good pastureage —

26 Cloudy & warm

27 Excessive rain

28 Cloudy and warm

29 Excessive rain all the country covered in water even the mountains send down their torrents of water —

30 A Beautifull clear morning after about Thirty hours of the most Tremendous rain storm That perhaps has ever fallen in the present age which awakned all the frogs which had slept during the dry season and are now chirping in every puddle The season for sowing wheat now commences as Likewise for sowing Turnips, parsnips, cabbages, Onions, garden peas, Barley, and several other vegetables which cannot be produced in the dry hot season —

Many of the californians scarcely ever taste Bread but live intirely on fresh Beef Beans and Red pepper which they cook all together and allways cook their beef verry tender or so that it will scarcely hold together

31 Several Light showers or rain during the afternoon yesterday and each producing a Beautifull bow of Promis all though to look at the vallies you might think a second deluge had commenced —

a dull cloudy day in the evening distant thunder was heard which is a rare thing and verry uncommon in this country several showers of rain fell during the night — — —

January the first 1846 dull and foggy with a prospect of more rain It did not rain but distant Thunder was heard at intervals during the day a slight Earth Quake was felt in many parts of the Province some days since this is no uncommon circumstance as it is seldom that six months passes without a Quivering and trimbling of the Eearth in some portion of California allthough I have not heard of any that has done any considerable damage for some years past

2 a dull cloudy day and it commenced raining in the Evening —

3 It Rained moderately all night a dull cloudy morning with slight showers of rain — about noon it came on to rain rapidly and so continued most of the night —

4 dull and Foggy I noticed the manseneto trees in full Bloom — This is an evergreen shrub growing in a thick gnarled clump with a smoothe red coloured bark and a deep green leaf and would make a beautifull shade for a door yard it prefers a dry gravelly soil and grows 10 or 12 feet high has a sweet small pink white bloom and bears a sour berry of a dark red colour the size of a small plumb

5 A Rany morning But It cleared up in the afternoon and the sun shone Beautifully onc more —

- 6 A pleasant day but a cool frosty morning
- 7 The same Except the frost a little lighter
- 8 Clear and Pleasant
- 9 The same

10 Cloudy and warm in fact a coat has been but little needed this winter except in the rain or for a morning.

11 Sunday warm and cloudy fine growing weather very much resembling a Missouri April or a Eastern May The Man-soneta in full Bloom—and the wild Oats about acle [ankle] high shewing fine as a wheat field in may of Wisconsin —

Kiled 14 Deer some fine and fat during the last week

- 12 Frosty morning

Heard that Mr Fremont had arived at suitors Fort and still more recently that Mr Hastings and Party had likewise arived Both From the U States.¹⁵² But no information has yet arived of the Politicks of the states in fact information of all Kinds Travels slow and is very uncertain when it has arived you know nothing certain unless you see it yourself

13 Showers of rain with a good prospect of another Flood — the rain continued untill night

14 Morning clear and bright — all hands buisy Plowing and sowing wheat Barly &c or at least all that expect to reape their own grain next harvest

The recently arived emigration from the U States appear to be Quite industrious in making preperations for living in some civilized form —

- 15 Cloudy & cool

16 showers of rain and Quite warm for the middle of winter

17 Last night was a night of Excessive rain and this morning all the low grounds are again immerced in water the day however proved clear with a N. W. wind

17 Sunday clear an fine with a s[t]iff white frost in the morning K^d. 8 Deer

18 Cloudy and warm the wind seldom blows more than an hour or two and that during the commencement of (of) a rainy spell

¹⁵² Frémont on his third trip arrived at Sutter's, by way of Truckee Pass, on December 10, 1845.

Hastings came overland the second time in 1845, arriving at Sutter's on Christmas Day. Robert Semple was a member of Hastings' small party.

In *Ivan Petroff's Abstract of Clyman's Note-Book*, in the Bancroft Library, the first sentence under the entry of January 12 contains an erroneous interpolation as follows: "Heard that Mr. Fremont had arrived at Sutter's Fort (from the north, having changed his mind about returning to the States) and still more recently that Mr. Hastings and party had likewise arrived."

the mountains are high steep and rocky and the rains rapid so that the water soon collects in the vallies and covers nearly the whole Earth in a few hours The rocks generally stand in nearly a perpendicular direction and what water finds its way down through them goes to an immense depth in the Earth what water continues near the surface soon runs of and leaves large dry tracts of rocky mountanous country without or very scantily supplied with water in the dry seasons

19 Cloudy with several Light showers of rain

20 It rained the whole of Last night and still continues to rain with a thick dense fog Had the pleasure of an evinings conversation with Mr [Isaac A.] Flint from Wisconsin Feel a great Disire to see Mill-waukie this morning —

21 and 22 Cloudy and warm The Mansoneto Dropping its Blows the Alder in full Bloom In fact although we have had a number of frosty mornings their has been no day but what has been uncomfortable to walk or exercise in any way without feeling a coat Quite to heavy and warm although my wintering ground is in a narrow vally nearly surrounded by high rugged mountains and I find it verry little cooler on (on) the mountains than in the vallys during the hours of sun shine but when the sun is hidden a great differanc is precievable

23 Cloudy and warm

24 Clear and warm

25 Thick Foggy morning and temendious heavy dew cleared off about noon fine and warm

Killed during the week 7 Deer

26 Close and warm and damp

27 Considerable rain fell during the night and the day proved showery and cool

28 Showers

29 Clear & cool

30 Considerable rain fell

31 Excessive rains during the night and continued all day the vallies inundated with water again the mountains sending down their Torrents in white foam — The climate of oregon and california resemble each other verry much oregon being somewhat cooler

Sundy the First of February ——— 1846

Killed during the week 8 Deer This day proved clear and pleasant But the country is completely impassable on account of the greate depth of mud and general softness of the earth several thunder showers passed During the last evening and night the Thunder However was low and grmbling & the Lightning not at all vivid or bright.

2 warm and moist the dew standing on the green vegetation throughout the day

3 a cool night and a whit frost this morning the afternoon cloudy

4 Hazy and cool with a brisk wind from the East

5 considerable rain fell during the day

Early sown wheat begins to shew green the Peach trees beginning to shew their bloom willow in bloom.

6 Clear and pleasant the grass about ankle high and several kinds of small herbs shewing their Bloom

7 Rainy dull weather

8 Continues to rain with a thick dense fog —

9 Cool and Rainy

10 snow seen on high peaks of the Napa mountain

11 the snow that fell yestarday is still visible and the air chilly and cool

12 Clear with a Keen white frost over all the green vegetation which however did not in the least injure the tenderest herbage

13 another frost not quite so Keen as yestarday both days came off fine and pleasant Garden Peas up and growing finely Beets, Cabbages, Onions Radishes and Turnips all up and thriving wheat Likewise covers the ground fine and green Horses and cattle thriving the native grasses and wild oats ankle high Clover begins to cover the grou^d there is five or six species of native clover to be found all coming from the seed anually some Kinds grow large and strong measuring full grown and straight five or six feet in length and setting emmensely thick on the earth

14 Pleasant & clear

15 same

16 same

17 Clear with a strong north wind the Earth becoming somewhat drained but not dry by any means

18 clear the Buck Eye shrubs beginning to shew their leaf as some of the Black oaks

18 Clear with a fair prospect of the rainy season having come to a close —

19, 20 & 22 Continues clear and fine weather The Buck Eye shrubery shews the leaf as Like wise the Black oak the vallies still wet and muddy but the mountains becoming dry and covered handsomely green with a thick groth of native herbage

23 same

24 same

25 Rainy with moderate showers fine growing weather these showers continued Throughout the month the season for sowing wheate is over as it is considered a very uncertain prospect for wheat to sow after the first of March all kinds of stock and cattle in particular are now thriveing rapidly on the young pastureage which is now green and tender this month is usually considered spring in this region but this season is rather more backward than usual and some kinds of timber scarcely shows the swelling of the bud some considerable talk of prepareing for the states and Oregon for both of which parties are making preperations for and both of which are long tiresome and some what dangerous routs so I close the winter or at least the winter months —

[Back Cover]

James Clymans Mem

BOOK 8

[Front Cover]

March 184[6]

James Clyman
Memorandum

Feby 26 Rainy and disagreeable
27 same only more so
28 cool and cloudy

March the 1st, 1846

J Clyman 1846

1846

March 1846
Bear Creek

1846 March the first

This is one of the climates that makes a fair and beautifull appearance for the commencement of the vernal season to commence with the opening and springing vegetation all of which makes a forward appearanc many of the oak Trees haveing their leaves half thier size and numerous native flowrets are seen in all directions mostly of a yallow and Purple colour and of a small kind The lowlands However are nearly covered in water from the recent excessive rains which have fallen

An excessive rain fell during last night which overflowed completely the allready half deluged vallies the mountains sending down thier torrents in white sheets of troubled waters in all their ravines — But as the mountains are built of intire rock their is but little except water and gravel to bring down both of which are plenty

2 Cloudy and warm

3 Clear and warm

4 same

5 clear and Beautifull the greate flood of water which deluged nearly all of the vallies is begining to subside and leave the earth green and fine to all appearance but desperately miry and I found it verry difficult for my horse to carry me only a few miles

6 & 7 still clear and fine

8 a beautifull day

9 same a young M^r [Britain?] Greenwood came in haveing been out some weeks hunting and Trapping in the mountains north he brought in a beautifull specemin of pure Sulpher and he informs me he saw greate Quantities of this mineral as Likewise a mineral resembling galena Lead ore in great abundance — but as M^r Greenwood had the ill luck to loose his specimens [of] Lead ore I cannot say what kind of mineral it was

There is greate Quantities of soda found in many places all Through California and Lye made of ashes is never used in the manufacture of soap but a species of earth is found that answers weell for this purpose and in fact in many places there is found sinks or holes in the earth that fills with water in the rainy seasons and which after it has evaporated considerably by the dry weather has all the appearance and Qualities of Lye made from ashes and is collected for soap making

Mercury or Quecksilver is found in many places and is manufactured in small Quntity [at New Almaden] near the puablau village [of San José] south of the Bay of St Francisco gold is said to Exist in the same neighbourhood but is not worked silver is Likewise said to have been found near the same place

Small Quantities of magnetic Iron may be seen in many places But I have not heard of any Iron being manufactured in any part of the country some portions of the countrey is said abound in salt but the salt used in california is brought from the Sandwich Islands and is Quite cheap Salt is an article not much used by the californians

10 Many of the oak Trees make a fine shade and summer seems to be fast approaching allthough the mountains are still covered white in snow Lettuce and Radishes plenty whare any attention has been paid to gardening —

From the Eighth untill the 15th the weather was fine clear and warm during the hours of sunshine but cool at night and the particular in the mornings which ware chilly and require a coat to feel comfortable

15 The morning somewhat overcast and cool but the sun soon drove off the Haze and shone warm and pleasant

16 Cool and somewhat Cloudy wind from the north in the afternoon some light showers of hail or snow fell the first I have seen fall in the vallies sinc I have been in California

17 The sun arose in his usu[al] bright majesty and splendor. Of all places this is the country for news or false reports there being no report that can be relid on except you have some personal Knowledge of the matter a report is now rife that Capt Fremont has raised the american flag in Monteray and all good citizens are caled on to appear forthwith to appear at Sonoma armed and (and) Equiped for service under General Byaho [Vallejo] to defend the rights and priviledges of Mexican citizens¹⁵³

21 From the 17 until the 21st the weather was cool with several

¹⁵³ Cf. "General Vallejo's Midnight Proclamation," March 14, 1846, *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, vol. 4, p. 387.

showers of hail and notwithstanding the vegetation has a show of mid-summer yet we had several frosty mornings but I could not perceive the slightest alteration in the appearance of the tenderest vegetable. It appears from information now received that the alarm mentioned a few days since was created by Mr. Fremont having raised an American flag at his camp near the Mission of St. Johns, and that he was called on to appear before some of the so-called Legal authorities which he declined to do. And this circumstance alarmed all of the Californians and caused General Castro to raise 400 men which report says are now under arms at Monterey. No report however can be relied on as but few men in this country can write. You may form some idea of what reports are carried verbally from one to two hundred miles by an ignorant superstitious people.

CLYMAN'S MESSAGE TO FRÉMONT

Apparently it was upon this day, after receiving information of Frémont's trouble, that Clyman determined to make an offer of assistance — a company of armed American immigrants. His letter was evidently taken to Frémont by the same Mr. Flint whom Clyman mentioned on January 20. Unfortunately the original of Frémont's reply has not been found among the Clyman papers. Ivan Petroff saw Frémont's letter in Clyman's possession in 1878 and preserved a copy.

[Frémont's Answer to Clyman]

[Ivan Petroff's Abstract of Clyman's Note-Book, p. 26. MS, Bancroft Library]

[Copy]

To James Clyman, Esq.
at Yount's Mills, California

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 21st ultimo has been received through the kindness of Mr. Flint, some time since, but as the subject matter is one of the gravest importance I have taken time to consider before venturing upon a definite reply. I am placed in a peculiar position. Having carried out to the best of my ability, my instructions to explore the far west, I see myself on the eve of my departure for home, confronted by the most perplexing complications. I have received information to the effect that a declaration of war between our Government and Mexico is probable, but so far this news has not been confirmed. The Californian authorities object to my presence here and threaten to overwhelm me. If peace is preserved I have no right or business here; if war ensues I shall be outnumbered ten to one and be compelled to make good my retreat pressed by a pursuing enemy. It seems that the only way open to me is to make my way back eastward, and as a military man you must perceive at once that an increase of my command would only encumber and not assist my retreat through a region where wild game is the only thing procurable in the way of food. Under these circum-

stances I must make my way back alone and gratefully decline your offer of a company of hardy warriors

And remain

Yours Respectfully

JOHN C. FREMONT

Camp on Feather River [?]

December 19th 1845. [!]

It would be interesting to know what the date of Frémont's reply actually was. The date appearing on the copy is obviously wrong. It was Petroff's custom to interpolate, and he may have supplied both the place and the date. The style of the letter is almost certainly that of Frémont and there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the document.

Assuming that Clyman wrote on March 21, Frémont would not have answered from the Feather River during the following week and have found it necessary to speak of delay in forwarding his answer. He was at Lassen's on the 30th, having left Sutter's about the 23d. He returned to Lassen's on April 11 and left again on the 14th. He possibly answered the letter during this second visit to Lassen's.

On his return from Oregon Frémont camped on the Feather River about June 10. Clyman was by this time over the mountains on his way home. His departure with Hastings should have been known to Frémont, who addressed the answer to Yount's Mills, where Clyman had been on March 31.

It is likely that Frémont answered before his journey to Klamath Lake, but there may be two objections to this theory.

In the first place Frémont mentions the receipt of information regarding the probability of a declaration of war. And secondly, in a statement to Petroff in 1878 Clyman said that, "The interval [referring to the gap in the Diary after August 21, 1845] was occupied principally with hunting and that upon the request of many young men who had already become disgusted with the country he [Clyman] set about to organize a party for returning to Oregon and eventually to the States. Previous to making final arrangements Mr. Clyman wrote to Col. Frémont and offered him the able-bodied men he could control (over fifty), but the offer was declined though this was after the Colonel had heard from the States through Mr. Gillespie. Clyman then went on with his arrangements," — *Petroff's Abstract of Clyman's Note-Book*, MS, Bancroft Library.

The discrepancy here is that Clyman had already made final arrangements and was starting on his way east upon Gillespie's first arrival at Sutter's Fort, April 28.

If Frémont's answer was written in March or April he was evidently refusing Clyman's offer either because the time was not ripe for conquest or, as is more likely, because he had no expectations of military activity. If the answer was written in May or June he was dissembling his real purposes or concealing his moral support of the Bear-flagers. It is barely possible that Clyman's offer had emboldened Frémont sufficiently to cause his return to California after Gillespie's message was received.

That Clyman's proposal was a bona fide offer of military assistance

and not merely a suggestion to join forces for the homeward trip is fairly evident.

In the first place it seems that Clyman was moved to write to Frémont just at the moment when the Colonel appeared to need assistance. And especially significant is Frémont's statement that "the subject is one of the gravest importance."

I can find no support for Bancroft's statements that Clyman "desired to unite his company to that of Frémont for the return trip — or, as he claims, for a movement against the Californians," — *History of California*, Vol. V, p. 23. Clyman left no such statement of his motives. The evidence available seems to show that he simply desired to aid Frémont in case of danger from attack.

That Clyman had no precocious schemes of conquest is manifest from the following observations of William Hargrave, — *Dictation to Ivan Petroff*, MS, Bancroft Library.

Speaking of the events preceding the Bear Flag movement Hargrave said:

Some bad feeling was also created by the departure early in 1846 of Col. James Clyman and a large company of hardy frontiersmen. The Colonel had only arrived the previous summer with a party from Oregon and after traveling about and engaging our hospitality and the pleasures of deer and bear hunting he took most of his original party and some others who had become disgusted out of the country again at a time when the patriots who meditated the conquest of California had need of every trusty arm and rifle within reach. Col. Clyman however claimed to have offered his force to Fremont and that the offer was refused.

[Continuation of the Clyman Diaries]

[March] 22 A stiff white frost

Report further states that (that) Gen^l. Castro marche[d] his valerous troops to Capt Fremonts camp whare he found numerous pack saddles and various other Baggage and a considerable Quantity of Specie which cap^t Freemont had unavoidably left in his rapid retreat

23 Another Frost

Heard of a small party Leaving the south part of california For St. A.fee and (and) the United States by the way of Chiwauewa

24 Still another Frost Active preperations making for the departure of a company or two who are going to Oregon with cattle and Horses this company will consist of 60 or 80 persons mostly of those that came in last season I do not recollect of having mentioned heretofore that the Emigration from the states [during 1845] cosisted of about 150 persons 30 or 40 of which are now going to columbia as oregon is here called —

From The 24 untill the 31. Weather fair and cool some slight frosts occasionally Kept packing or rather making pack saddle and other preperations for my intended start for the U. States finaly lift on the 31 the head of Napa vally and proceeded down 18 miles to Mr Yount the vally is far from being dry but is passable — M^r yount is

an american that has been in the mexican country for 13 or 14 years and has a Flouring and saw mill in opperation both of which are profitable and as far as I could learn this [is] the only Flouring mill in the province

1846 April the 1st Cool with a strong west wind and several light shower of rain

Left Mr. Younts and proceeded down Nappa vally thorough several sloughs and mud holes passed a farm on our left belonging [to] Signor St Salvador Byaho [Vallejo] (discribe it)

This Rancho of General Byahos contains 33 Leages of land equal to (14600) one hundred and Forty six Thousand acres and although he is the largest farmer in Callifornia yet a very small portion of this immense Tract is in cultivation perhaps not more than 4 or 500 acres all the rest being left for the pastureage of his stock haveing 12 to 15,000 head of neat cattle 7 or 8,000 head of Horses 2, or 3,000 head of sheep he has also 300 wrking men with their usual proportion of Females and children all Kept in a nearly naked state and pooly fed and never paid a cent for their labour

(discribe the generals)

St Salvadors farm as we rode past did not make a very flatering or Tasty appearance being scattered and strung some 4 or 5 miles in length and from 20 to 40 rods wide and whare fenced at all the fence was made of small willows stucke in the earth and wove back and forth into a frail open kind of wicker work the small perishable meterials Requiring to be renewed every season and this is a common discription of a california farm there being but few spots of land moist enough for cultivation Except along the meanders of som small streame

(wild oats —

This is the greatest oat field (in) perhaps on the globe containing tow or three hundred thousand acres of land and what is most remarkable scarcely a bunch of grass or a weed to be seen notwithstanding this immense Quantity of native grow[n] oats yet you never see a grain fed to an animal all is suffered to fall off when ripe to seed the earth for another crop or to feed the millions of water fowl that resort here in the winter or rainy season at this season it has a beautiful appearanc the earth being thickly clad in deep green foilage as regular as a well set meadow

[*Napa Valley to Johnson's Ranch*]

2 clear and Quite cool Left the oat Field with its Beautiful smoothe green hills and plains and as we had no place to breakefast we rode to Mr Wolfscales for dinner in Eevening we arived at Mr

Gordons where I found six or Eight young men making preparations for their return to Oregon with Horses and Cattle all being completely disgusted with California and Quite willing to return to where the manners and customs of the inhabitants is more in unison with civilization than can be found in this half Barberous half Indian population which is seen in all parts of Spanish america

3 Remained with Mr Gordon who is a very friendly man and very accommodating to his country men where ever found —

4 The night was clear with slight frost this morning From all that I can Learn I think that our company for the states will be small our Horses took a stampede or fright last night and cannot be seen in any direction this morning most of the men spoken of yesterday are of the party that came from Oregon last season with the Expectation of finding California little short of a Paradise but like most of the pleasure and fortune hunters find themselves awfully disappointed and are willing to try the long and dangerous road back to Oregon —

Found our Horses without much difficulty I Returned back to Mr Wolfscates for the purpose of drying some beef as Traveling stock

5 Procured beef of Mr Wolfscale and commenced drying has fine young cattle and they are now fat and Excelent Beef Mr Wolf-scale has (has) a Beautifull Ranche of Three Leages of land finely situated on a small River [Putah Creek] where it bursts through a rough mountain and enters the greates sacramento plain But notwithstanding his fine place and rapid increasing stock his is far from being satisfied and is now making preparations to go to Oregon next season and take with him about 2,000 Head of neat Cattle and a beautifull herd of Horses

6 nothing can look more beautifull than this country dose at this season of the year numerous kinds of small herbage being now full grown and som Quite ripe allthough the larger Kinds are now in full Bloom and miles of this greates plain is litterly a bed of Posies and prevailing species being deep Bright gold yellow so bright as to dazzel the eye sight under a clear sun for you see no clouds at this season of any consequence and now is the middle of a Californian Summer and would answer well for June in the middle states fall sown wheat now heading

7 Clear and bright with a dew like rain finished making or drying meat and Returned to Mr. Gordons again the nights continue cool

In fact this is a common trail of all the country lying near the pacific coast while the interior especially the low vallies are scorched with drough and night and day for 4 months at least every season and

some seasons occasionally pass of without any rain such summers become so dry as for to destroy Quantities of stock and human lives likewise if they Exercise much during the day But at such times the inhabitants of the interior remove to the mountains

Along the coast However no season passes without rain and every morning has its fog and every afternoon its sea Breeze a coat is comfortable every morning the year round and you find woolen clothing necessary during the whole day very frequently

8 arrived at Mr Gordons last Evening mad a tolerable show for rain and this morning still shews lowering But the time for much rain in this vally is now passed although rains are frequent yet on the coast and not unfrequent in the mountains

9 a slight shower of rain fell last night the day clear and pleasant with a strong west wind

10 another light shower of rain fell during the night with a strong cool wind from the N. our company slow collecting and I am waiting for some one to pass as I cannot drive my pack animals alone

It is imposable to hurry any person in californiia where time is no object and every man must have his own time to sleep and move about buissness as though he was pained to move or even breathe

11 and 12 Fine cool weather this is the common season for Planting corn Pumpkins beans and Mellons

13 Packed up and lef Mr Gordons on our way to Suitors Fort on the same Trail that we passed last July vegetation now full grown and the mosketoos proved verry troublesome passed Mr Knights and continued down the sacremento river along a (a) small horse Trail the only Traveled road that pases through or rather around thies bay of St Francisco

A short distance above our camp apeared a large colony of Shaggs (a large black duck) where they ware building and kept up a continual hoarse squaking all night while innumerable Quantities of Brant kept screaming in a large Flag march in an aposite direction assisted by the howling of wolves

14 Extremely heavy dew

Left our musical neighbours and proceeded down the Trail a couple of hours which [brought] us to Mr. [Thomas M]. Hardy^s. at the Junction of the sacremento withe Feather Rivir the latter is one of the principle Tributaries of the sacremento and is about 200 yards wide at its mouth here we crossed over our baggage in a small Canoe and swam our animal over the main stream being upwards of 400 yards over Mr Hardy gave us his assistance all being safely over we packed and proceeded up Feather about 7 mile and encamped the

whole or nearly the whole of the country passed since yesterday noon is overflowed in high water and is now well stocked with waterfowl. The mountains ahead show a long regular chain all white with snow about 30 or 40 miles distant.

15 Passed Mr Nichols [Nicholaus Altgeier] Early and got directions of a Dutchman [n] [probably Altgeier] how to steer our course to Johnstons & Kizers [William Johnson and Sebastian Keyser] where those intending to go to the states are assembling. Traveled all day steadily over a dry arid plain the vegetation not exceeding three inches high generally composed of a small growth of weeds now in bloom and covering the earth in a yellow garment. The whole distance we had to travel this morning being 15 miles we encamped in all probability farther off [f] from our Place of destination than we were in the morning there being no such thing as even a path to follow. And I advise all travelers hereafter to be careful and always take their own Ideas of the route in preference to follow the directions of a Dutchman for he will confuse all the small Ideas you ever had in place of giving you any new ones.

16 Left our lost camp and (and) changed our course in a contrary direction that is north. Instead of south and in about 4 Hours steady traveling over the same dry hard soil we came in sight [t] of civilization again if cattle, Horses and Indians can be so called. Arrived at Mr [Lansford W.] Hastings camp on Bear creek a small river running into Feather River. About noon Mr Hastings welcomed us to his camp [p] in a warm and Polite manner and we unpacked under the shade of a spreading oak tree — Mr Johnston who owns the Rancho is like all of his California neighbours 15 miles from the nearest inhabitant and not even a track leading to or from his place at this season of the year although in a dry time all the emigration from the states pass.

17 Purchased a beef and commenced drying a portion for sea stock.

18 Continued in camp making preparations — — The weather could not be finer. Not a cloud to be seen and the beautiful transparency of Heavens is finely accompanied by a cool northern breeze.

19 Still remain in camp making preparations.

20 Mr. [Owen] Sumner [Sr.] and his Family arrived all prepared for their Journey. Mr Sumner has been in Oregon from thence to California and still being dissatisfied is now returning to the states again after having [spent] nearly five years in traveling from place to place as likewise a small fortune.

21 Cool and windy. All the company that we expect are all

assembled and consist of nineteen men three women and three children with a large herd of Horses and mules

22 Still cool with a strong South wind very disagreeable
several light showers of rain fell but not enough to lay the dust 18 miles

[*Across the Sierra*]

23 Left our camp in the valle of Bear creek and commenced ascending the mountains which approach to within a few miles of our camp our travel to day was over moderate hills covered with dry shrubby oaks and pine timber with the various small open glades and small prairies soil (hard where dry) of a dark red clay mixed in gravel in the after noon we met two indians or rather came upon them who immediately rushed in to the rocks and thicket and immediately disappeared this is the general character of all the natives of the mountains although these natives are within a few miles of the greater plains and look down upon their half civilized neighbours below yet no inducement can be held out to induce them to come down

24 A keen white frost covering all the vegetation made an early move and traveled over a rough uneven range of hills until late in the afternoon had several views of the snow capped mountain still Keeping an east course parallel with Bear creek came to deep ravine all most perpendicular over which upwards of 50 wagons had passed last autumn with a great deal of labour and difficulty came to spots of new fallen snow descended into the Kenyon of Bear creek the snow becoming more plenty as we passed up this narrow rocky passage the stream roaring and pitching over it[s] narrow rocky bed

at dusk we came to a small valley surrounded by high rugged mountains mostly covered with snow which to all appearance had lain on the earth since last december made 27 mile and encamped on a small noll which was bare of snow

25 Spent a cold uncomfortable night for shortly after dark the wind arose and blew a strong gale all night from the snow capped mountains which stand in cold and awful grandeur a few miles to the East we were out Early Examining the valley to see where our animals can procure the best grazing moved up the narrow valley about a mile pitched our tents to await the arrival of some of our company that is yet behind although the night produced ice strong enough to bear a man and the snow reaches down into the valley itself yet the young grass is up in spots sufficient to make tolerable grazing here we expect to remain several days before we attack the region of all most Eternal snow and ice which is not more than one mile ahead

26 Remain in camp this is warm and quite comfortable considering our greater elevation and the Quantity of snow that surrounds us Nothing can be more tedious and disagreeable than waiting for company after you have made all your preparations for so long and dangerous a Journey as that in which we have now embarked our party consisting of six men only we considered our selves too weak to venture to drive our way through and it appears Quite uncertain when the rear of our company will Join us so that we remain here in continual anxious suspense without any object to relieve anxiety the only animals seen in this valley is a pair of small Prairie wolves which annoy us by eating off the raw hide tugs which we have to tie up our animals and although the wolves are scarcely ever out of sight yet they are so watchful that we cannot come in gunshot of them

27 [Misplaced in the MS] Still remain in camp waiting for more company stiff Frost every night in region of snow and Ice

Walked out to the N. E. of the valley on the point of a Ledge of rock here you have a view or touch of the sublime awful the first thing that attracts your notice is a high rough ridge of snow capped mountains proceed a little further the ridge descends in front into an impassable cliff of Black rocks divested of any Kind of covering still further and (and) you behold a river dashing through an awful chasm of rocks several thousand feet below you your head becomes dizzy and you may change the [view] to [the] right here at the distance you have ridges of snow and ridges of pine timber to the Left you have a distant view of the eternal cliffs of black volcanic rocks that bound the river Eubor

28 Still Remain in camp although all the company that we had Expected arrived yesterday Evening and it is thought by those best acquainted [with] this route that it will be impracticable to cross the mountains at this time several of us are However very anxious to try and ascertain that fact several large grey Bear were seen this morning 25 [miles.]

29 Left our camp on Bear Creek immediately ascended a steep mountain to the south side of the valley and in about one hour's ride came to the snow turned and wound around the south side [of] a mountain to avoid the deep drifts of snow that completely filled the small valleys about noon came to the Euba [Yuba] river running N. W. Kept up the stream several miles when we found the snow so deep on the W. side that we could not travel crossed over to the E side of the stream and Kept up near a rough granite mountain through immense drifts of snow and water the day being Quite warm the ravine nearly flooded with the water and deep in snow the whole

of the way for road we had none at all is covered thickly with a large grothe of pine and Firr a short time before sundown we came to a halt on the steep rough side of a point of rocks whare we found bear ground Enough to bearly camp on and not a spear of grass for our poor animal which had traveled all day in snow and mud so we tied them up immediately after unpacking the Euba roring through its snowy bed.

30 Early under way in hope that the snow would bear us to travel over the crust but as it did not [freeze] much during the night we found our progress but slow all the ravines running full of water under the snow our pack horses ware continually stuck fast and Floundering in the snow to avoid this we assended a steep rocky mountain to the north of our rout but on ariving near the top we found the snow much deeper and (and) as it had not been much thawed during the day privious it would not carry us atall however after an hours plunging and several times repacking we at length desended again to an open Prarie vally that [lies] at the immediate head of Euba and about noon came to an Entire halt for the rest of the day haveing made 3 miles

May the First 1846

Got under way early the [snow] was hard Enough to bear up handsomely some 2 miles when we arived at the summit of the mountain (the snow being from 3 to 8 feet deep) here we commenced the desent over steep Pricipices rough granite Rock covered in many places through the chasms with snow 15 or 20 feet deep and luckily for us we lost no horses allthoug we had to force them down several perpendicular cliffs afer about 3 hours unpacking and repacking we succeeded in clearing the steepest pitches of the whole length of which is not one mile you may imagine that we felt a happy relief to find ourselves on bear ground onc more which we found at the head of truckys [Donner] lake a small sheet of water about two miles in length and half a mile wide the N hill sides being intirely clear of snow but verry little green vegetation made six miles and encamped at the foot of the Lake

2 Proceeded down the vally of Truckee^s. River through open pine woods and here we first saw the plains covered with wild sage the chain of mountains we have Just past is the same called the cascade chain in Oregon and is generally covered with several Kinds of Pine Firr and other evergreen timber. and here I found out that I had the misfortune to loose my gunlock some whare in the Everlasting snows that we had Just pase^d. we made a short days travel and encamped on Johns creek to recriut our half starved animals who had been three

days and two nights without a mouthfull of forrage haveing traveled not more than 6 miles this camp is in a large cove in the mountains which are all covered whit in snow now melting rapidly on the lower ranges or hill the vally however is barren and no signs of game is to be seen a few naked natives ware seen to day

3 Proceeded on Early about 4 miles to a fine vally of green grass whare we unpacked again for the day to give our animals a chance to recruit after their long and hard fatiegue several showers of snow fell during the morning and the day was cool and Blustring with the drifts of snow several natives have been about our camp and appear to be friendly they are a poor race and their country is poorly supplied with game and [they] manafacture a kind [of] robe of Rabbit skins which they cut into small stripes and weave them together with the lint of some kind of weeds from which they Likewis make ropes for snares and fishing tackel in the evening it commenced snowing rapedly and the snofell several inches deep so you may imagin that we spent no verry comfortable night it slaked up toward morning This if vally it may be called is Quite uneven and generally covered in pine timber not of the best Quality Here likewise we saw large camace marshes on which the natives at this season of the [year] Exist mostly in a raw state

4 as the snow covered all the grass we packed and ware early on the way crossed Quite a large creek which has been called wind River a tributary of Truckeys River and proceeded to cross a considerable of a ridge and desended again into a small rich vally 8 miles from our former encampment the natives are still around our encampment nearly naked and do not seem to complain of cold although we can hardly get clothes enough on us to keep ourselves comfortable about noon the sun shone out a few minuets which desolved the most of the new fallen snow in southerm exposures but the evening was verry cold and wind[y] with some few flakes of fine snow but considerable snow fell on the mountains only a few miles from us — The tribe we are now passing through call themselves as well as understood Washee [Washoe]

5 A cool night proceeded S Easterly about 4 miles and came to the main Truckies River whare it first leaves the timbred mountains and Enters the open Bald hills which would be mountains in any other country The river is about 40 yards wide and falls rapidly over a rough rocky bed the weather cloudy cool and a strong west wind continually blowing to day for the first since we set out no snow is to be seen ahead but any Quantity is to be seen a little to the south of our rout continued down the valy of the River 6 miles and en-

camped in a fine vally of Excelent grass one aged native followed us from our Last encampment and seems to have greate attatchment for us or for the provisions that he can beg the chasm that Truckies River runs in for it cannot be caled a vally is verry rocky mostly of small sized stones all granite or Baysalt with various mixtures

6 proceeded down the river crossing and takeing the South side at about 8 miles we came to a deep muddy Brook running through a handsome prairie vally went up the Brook about 3 miles before we found a crossing passed down along side of a steep volcanick mountain shewing immence Quantities of rough slag and other vitrified matter entered the last Kenyon and passed down to a small vally whare stoped for the night the day was extremely rough and windy the wind Blowing from the S. W. so strong that it nearly blew some of the Ladies from their saddles and we could see that the mountains behind us experienced an awfull snow storm while we ware nearly blest with sunshine a few spits of snow and rain fell on us and we sufered from the cold. our course a little N of E. 12 miles

7 A little before day it began to snow and snowed rapidly untill about noon haveing a bad camp for our animals we packed up and moved on down the river about 6 miles it continued to snow all the way but finding better pasture we stoped all our progress yestarday and to day the mountains on Either side are bare of timber verry high and rugged mostly composed of Baysalt, Granite and an occasional ridge of rough slate we have seen no game larger than a rabbit and but verry few of them about one oclock the sun broke out and the snow soon disappeared in the [v]allies (afternoon) continued down the south side of the river. verry high rounded bluff and in fact mountains approach so near that we had to assend one of them $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of steep assent brought us to the top immediately desended again to the river and continued down encamped at sun set emmidst the most subbime specimens of volcanic mountains all rounded and made up of all colours and hues from brick red to chalk white 13 miles today

8 After unpacking our horses some one of our party examined a floating Fishing machien that lay a fuw steps from us moored in the river and (and) found an old Indian that had been in managing his fishing spears when we rode up and was so frightned that it was with some difficulty that we coaxed him out after some [delay] however he gained courage and came out and slept with us during the night this morning he made us a present of several beautifull large salmon Trout and we [left] him to persue his fishing again unmolested

Persued our way down the river about 6 miles to whare we leave to

cross the plains for the sink of Marys river here Truckies river makes a great bend turning nearly N and falls into a lake at some 12 miles distant the day is Quite cold with a strong N. W. wind vegetation Just begining to spring and many places the willow scarcely shews the bud

The several parties which have passed through this region have each given this stream a different name Truckies River and Salmon Trout River But as the tribe of natives inhabiting this stream and the adjacent country call themselves the Wausheew tribe or nation I think it would [be] crrect to call the stream by the same name viz Waushee River

9 Struck of to the East leaveing the River to take it course north soon came near the pount of a low range of Black volcanic mountains and observed numerous specimins of rock formed by concreton from spring that must have existed many years since in fact all the country passed through to day has at some distant period been one immense boiling caldron and is now strewed over with some thousands of upright rocks which have been onc immense projectors of Liquid steam and have discharged immense Quantities of mud which now fills the whole plain over which we pass^d. and several miles perhaps 8 of this days travel was over a white sheet of salt incrusted passed over and in sight of Large beds of Chalk Likewise which has been involved in Boiling water a low rang of Black slagg lay to our left all day of the moste thirsty sterile appearance near sun set we stoped at some holes of Brackish water haveing traveled 30 miles to day

at about 15 miles or half way from Waushee river to the first water near May^s. Lake still exist a cauldron of Boiling water no stream issues from it [at] present but it stands in several pools Boiling and again disappearing some of these pools have beautifull clear water Boiling in them and others emit Quantites of mud into one of these muddy pools my little water spaniel Lucky went poor fellow not knowing that it was Boiling hot he deliberately walked in to the caldron to slake his thirst and cool his limbs when to his sad disappointment and my sorrow he scalded himself allmost insantly to death I felt more for his loss than any other animal I ever lost in my life as he had been my constant companion in all my wandering since I Left Milwaukee and I vainly hoped to see him return to his old master in his native village (But such is nature of all earthy hopes) for several miles back we had been traveling over the bed of a former Lake which to all appearanc has not been dry more than 10 or 15 years. and now forms a salt plain and how far to the South it extends I canot tell

[Eastward to Missouri]

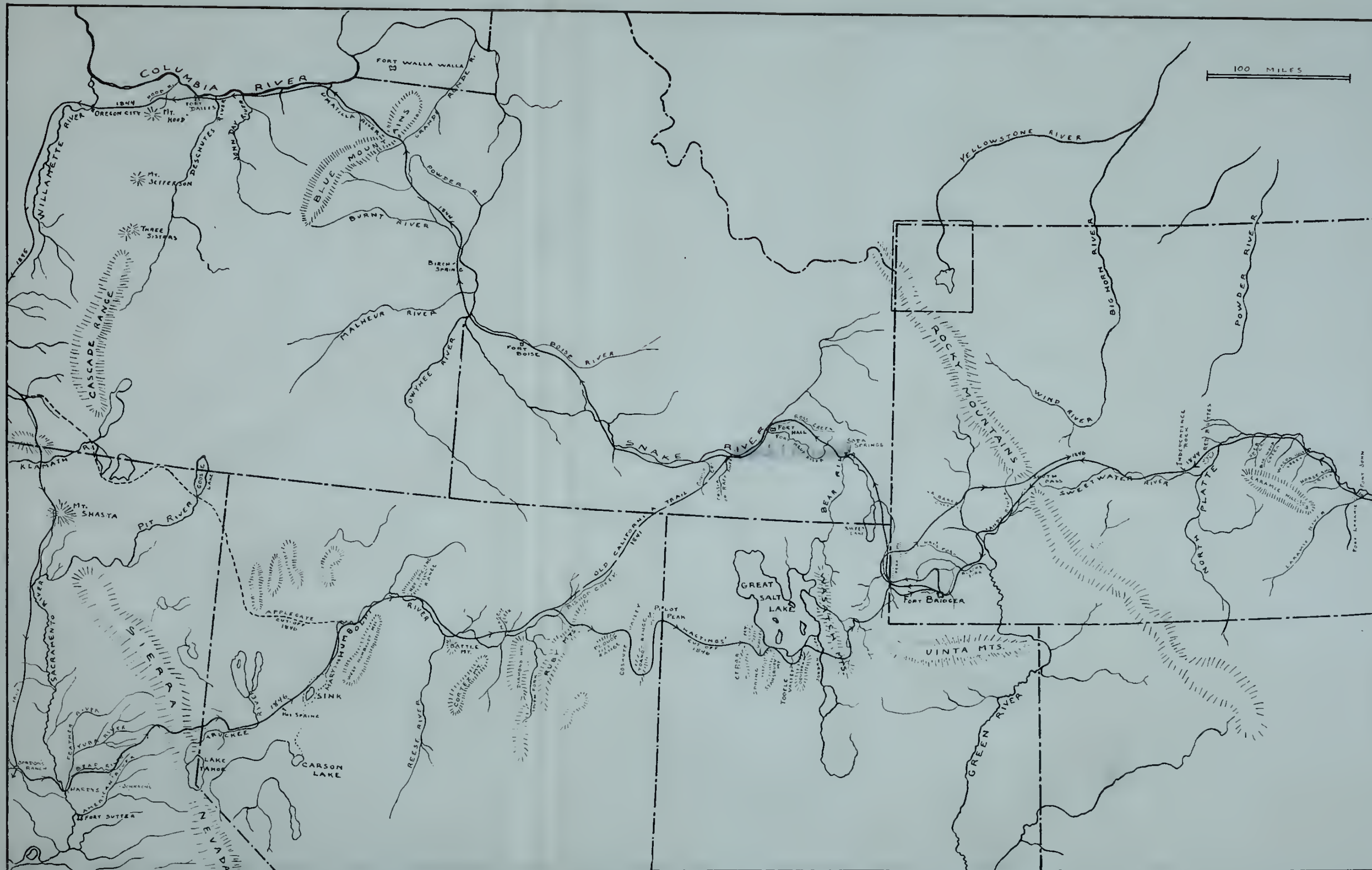
Clyman went eastward in company with Lansford W. Hastings, James M. Hudspeth, and a party including sixteen other men, three women and two children. Old Caleb Greenwood, who had been a trapper in the days of Manuel Lisa, had been over the route in 1844, with the Stephens-Townsend immigrants. Hastings had also entered California on this trail in the next year. Both came by way of Fort Hall, down the Humboldt and across the Truckee divide.

The route described in Clyman's diary was doubtless, in a general way, the path followed by these earlier pioneers and by Frémont on his third trip. Frémont's feat of pioneering at this time was the crossing of the Desert of the Great Salt Lake, which had not been attempted at this point before, so far as known. Some interest therefore attaches to the detailed description of the road by Clyman and the subsequent dispute of Clyman and Hastings over the merits of Frémont's trail which later came to be known as Hastings' Cut-Off. Clyman's meeting with the Donner party and other trains is also of importance — the more so since this portion of the diary was missing at the time copies of the other journals were made for Bancroft.

Clyman left Johnson's Ranch on Bear River on April 23, 1846, and after delays due to the snow at this early season, encamped on the 30th at what was doubtless Summit Valley at the head of the Yuba River. The train crossed the Truckee pass the next day and stopped at the foot of Donner Lake — called by them Truckee Lake. On the 2d of May they reached "Johns Creek" — probably the stream now called Prosser Creek — and, traveling slowly, encamped on "Wind River" — doubtless the Little Truckee River — on the 4th. The following evening they approached the Truckee again from the north, near the present site of Verdi, Nevada, and went on through Truckee Meadows, near what is now Reno, on the 6th. On the 9th they left the river at the bend where the town of Wadsworth now stands, and evening found them, after a long dry march, at the hot springs eighteen miles southwest of the southern end of Humboldt Lake. Here the narrative, as given in Clyman's diary, is resumed.

[Book 8, continued]

[May] 10 [1846] again under way and (on) rather a singular road we had mostly over a bear salt plain which had a few years since been covered in water and costituted Ogdens [Humboldt] Lake which no doubt when Mr Ogden visited this region some 25 [18] years since was Quite a large Lak but shallow now nearly dried up and from appearances will in a few years more intirely disappear and become the most dry thirsty [spot] imaginable as that portion which has now dried off will plainly indicate Nearly the whole of our days travel 20 miles to day and a part of yestarday was evidently under water but a few yares since now at this time Marys [Humboldt] river sinks and disappears intirely some 8 or 10 miles above the small shallow pond know as Ogdens Lake and this whole region is now intirely dried



MAP 3
Emigrant trails to Oregon and California in 1844-46.

up and has the most thirsty appearance of any place I ever witnessed. The whole of several large vallies is covered in a verry fin clay or mud which has vimited from the bowels of the earth mixed with scalding water from the immense cauldrons of heat below.

11 want of space has prevented me from noting that several Lengthy ranges of mountains are visible and in particular to the East [Humboldt Range] whose tops are covered in snow one Likewise in the S. allso N. E. all appearanty seperatee and distinct. allso that we changed our course from E. to nearly N on our arival at ogdens, Lake

Continued up the valy of marys river passed over Quantities of concreete rocks of various curious shapes and Sizes the mountains that bound this vally are all of vitrified rock of various hues but mostly of dark red and brown the whole of the vally is composed [of] whiteish volcanic mud and bears no vegetation except a hard thorny shub called by voyagers grease wood and this species seems to thrive without moisture at 10 miles we struck the River a small stream not more than 20 yards wide running in a deep channel of fine clay and the water completely saturated with this same mud as thick or thicker than the Misouri in a freshet to day the snow seemed to disappear rapidly on the mountain in front of our camp none of the highlans bear any vegetation

12 still up the River over one of the most Steril Barren countys I ever traversed the hills and mountains producing no kind of vegetation and the more elevated part of the vally bearing nothing but a small shrubby thorn and not even moist enough to poduce the much dispised wild sage from all appearancees their has not fallen any rain or snow since the california emigration passed here last September except a light shower of snow that has fallen a few days since and still remains on the mountain in nearly all directions the grass has made but a feeble start and our animals fare verry poorly the wil-lows have not yet buded and the earth is so parched that we are all day covered in a cloud of dust allmost sufficating to pass through and the water is Likewise poor when obtained as there is none at all Except in the river and the banks are so steep and high that few places can be found to desend to [it] 25 [miles]

13 Early under way continued up the River the sun arose as usual without a speck of cloud or mist for bothe appear to be allmost unknown to this region here the river which hitherto has been coming all most drect from the north makes a bend and comes more East-wardly the vally [contains] the same volcanic mud now become more dry and allmost as loose as ashes at about 6 miles we came to

a fine vally of grass and unpacked to let our animals graze a Large vally seem[s] to run a great distance north waard The water in the River is much clearer than whare we first struck it below and as earthe is much dryer so also it is much Looser in as much that our animals many timis sink up to their knees in the dry earth our whole company now Togather consists of 19 men and boys 3 women and 2 children and about 150 mules and Horses too many for this rout at so early a season of the year as the grass has Just began to shoot and is yet young and short and we will probably devide our company in a few days

14 up the River on an nearly E direction to day 25 miles with a nearly Exact sameness two large vallies seem to spread themselves one to the North and the other to the South passing between two mountains composed of Black slag the most Easterly ridge [East Range] is covered in snow near the tops But allthough their appears to be a considerable depth of snow on several of these mountains now it would seem thawing off rapidly yet so thirsty is the sides and so greate the evaporation that not a drop of water reaches the vally severall Horses gave out to day and from the appearance of many others I begin to conclude that californea Horses are not a hardy race of animals So perfectly Barren and sterile is this region of volcanic matter that scarcely a bird is heard to chirp to the rising Sun and not even the signe of an animal Except Rabbits ever ventures to make a precarious subsistance on these plains a strong South wind is blowing and some thin streaks of clouds are seen gathering around

[Misplaced in the MS]

15 Still up the River after afeew Hours ride we chnged our course nearly East for some miles and our whole course to day has perhaps nearly N. E.¹⁵⁴ the same appearances as to soil [as] usual However to day we passed several sand drifts no Timber has yet been seen in any part of the high or Lowlands Bordering on this stream except willow and a few other shrebs of verry Stinted groth the same want of moisture still continues and the Travelling is extremely dusty espically to day as we had an aft wind (as the Sailors say) Travel to day about 22 miles From all appearances this River has overflowed it[s] banks and flooded all the vally as the low ground still indicates by a feeble groth of Bull rushes water flags and other vegita- bles know[n] to marsh lands as like wise the old stalks of large weeds on the plains but at present very little grass and no weeds are seen

16 Continued up in an E. & S E. course [Big Bend of the Hum-

¹⁵⁴ Near present site of Winnemucca, Nevada.

boldt] on the South side of the River 30 miles a few miles from our Last camp we passed a groupe Boiling springs near $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile S. of the Trail passed a range of low slate mountains [Hot Spring Range] thorough which the river passes and makes a Large bend to the South and a large vally extending bothe sides of the river nearly all of which however is covered in many places several inches thick in a white saline crust nearly strong enough to bear the weight of a man and in most other places shrubby stools of Prarie thorn know[n] by the tra[v]elers in this region as grease wood passed one Slough of standing water the first I have seen since traveling the stream Large vallies seem to extend in various directions to day bound on either side by mountains of Slag and Scoria Soil volcanic mud or clay to so dry and loose that our animals sunk in up to their knees observed some willows begining to bud several days have [been] Quite smoky and it seem to increase allthough no fires are to be seen the whole of to day has [been] verry crooked but the earth is so dry that we can not ventur [any] cut off

17 Passed up the full S E. 26 miles and encamped whare the river breakes between two Black slag hills [Battle Mountain] which form nearly regular mountains N. and S. passed over several miles of saline matter in fact the highlands and mountains seem to be formed intirely of slag and scoria and the vallies of volcanic mud salt and soda the vegetation wild Sage and grease wood a strong wind blew from the south during the fore noon but shifted to the west in the evening and blew up such a dust that the sun was completely obscured all the afternoon this would seem strang but no stranger than true for the vallies are composed of find mud thrown from the bowels of the earth in greate Quantites mixed with Boiling water and when left exposed to the weather for an unknown time the water being evaporated by the sun leaves this remarkable fine clay which is soft and fine flour whirlwinds and other strong currents of wind carry large Quantitees to a great hight resembling a white smoke which in times of dry weather and strong winds completely obscures the light and resembles thin light fog

18 Early under way the apearence of the county the same 30 miles First 10 miles East then S. E. The [day] was still and pleasant the vally Large grass short and none except near the water our animals begin to [find] hard travel and poor feed mountains the same Cinder and Slag many of them caped in snow and frost in the vally every night since we commenced assending the river the rever pretty much the same except clearer and more swift no timber yet seen except willow confined to the margin of the

stream the white saline matter not Quite so plenty. a high white snowey mountain [Cortez Mountains] seen dead a head at some considerable distance Fresh tracks of Indians seen in the vicinity of camp and as I believe the first seen in passing up this stream they are not however supposed to be dangerous as they are probably shoshones devided our company on the 16 we haveing 8 men and 37 animals. Move ahead

19 In a few miles above our encampment (we) the Trail leaves the River and assends a range of hills or mountains of no greate elevation and mostly formed of clay and loose rock about half way across these hills is several springs of cool water crossed over and encamped in tolerable good grass for this season whole distance (16 miles) the rever passes through a Kenyon in these hill and is difficult for Horsemen to follow the stream across the river from our camp is a lot of warm springs but the water does not run from them about Half a mile above our camp is [a] Beautifull running Brook of clear water [Maggie Creek] the first that the river receives from the [Humboldt] Lake upwards a distance of more than 200 miles which proves the dryness of this country and the xtreme thirstyness of the soil if soil it can be called that produces so stinted a groth of vegetatiom the river here is more than double as larg as it was whare we first struck it and the water nearly clear

20 Up the stream once more about 25 miles In about one hours ride we came to whare the river Breaks through a low rugged mountain [Fremont canyon] but as the water is yet low we had no difficulty in passing through by crossing the stream several times this mountain runs nearly N. & S above it opens out in to a large vally again only a small part of any of the vally is stocked in grass and that neare the Stream all the afternoons travel was nearly N. & N E. a few miles below our camp on the South side of the river as a singular lot of Hot spring which boil and bubble like cauldron[s] and send off a large Quantity of hot water into the river which is only a few rods from the springs¹⁵⁵

Some of the hills and mountains begin to shew a few stinted cedars on thier sides to day passed what I supposed to be the E Branch [South Fork] of Mary^s River comeing in through a deep Kenyon [Humboldt Canyon] from a range of snow capd mountains [Ruby Range] to the E of us

21 On the way again as usual N. E. course 1 ½ hours ride brought us to whare the stream came through a Kenyon for a short

¹⁵⁵ Near present site of Elko, Nevada.

distance but the trail led over a sandy ridge to the N and after passing another of the same discription we came to a handsome little Brook [North Fork of Humboldt River] hading to the N. W. On each side of this brook the earth was covered white with a salin incrustation and when broke By the tramping of our mules it nearly strangled them and us causing them to caught and us to sneeze at 14 miles we encamped this being the point¹⁵⁶ where Mr Freemant intersected the wagon Trail last fall on his way to california and Mr Hastings our pilot was anxious to try this rout but my beleef is that it [is] verry little nearer and not so good a road as that by fort Hall our encampment is in a large fine looking vally but too cold and dry for any kind of grain the mountains which are no greates elivation above the plain are covered nearly half way down in snow

22 after long consultaton and many arguments for and against the two different routs one leading Northward by fort Hall and the other by the Salt Lake we all finally tooke Fremonts Trail by the way of the Salt Lake Late in thee day the Stream branches again in this vally the Larger [Lamoille Creek] comeing From the S the smaller [Bishop Creek] from the N. up this Northern branch the wagon Trail leads by the way of Fort Hall

Crosing the N. Branch we struck S. E. for a low gap [Humboldt Pass] in a range of snow cape^d mountains soon crossed the vally and commenced assending the mountain out of which issues a small Brook [Secret Creek, now called Cottonwood Creek] followed up this brook to neare its source and encamped nearly on the summit of the mountain and within perhaps less than one mile of the snow the air was Quite cool and a few drops of rain fell. on this elevated ridge the grass we found to be nearly full grown while that in the vally was Quite short Here I observed large beds of rock resembling marble
12 mile

23 Late in the evening last heard rumbling thunder after dark a few drops of rain fell The night was cool and froze a little in fact every night has produced some Ice since we left the plains of California Early this morning the snow fell so as to whiten earth at our camp and laid on the mountains all day another shower fell during the forenoon Continued withe some difficulty to follow Freemonts trail up the brook to a handsome little vally [Clover Valley] and over a ridge to a nother larger vally [Independence Valley] several small streams fall into this vally and run off to the S & S W and no

¹⁵⁶ Near Halleck, Nevada. Talbot's subdivision of Frémont's party had evidently encountered the river at this point. Frémont with a small group went across the desert to Walker's Lake, keeping well south of the river all the way.

doubt fall into Marys river and the last water seen passing into that stream

Crossed the vally S. E. and assended a steep narrow mountain [Pequop Range] some remnants of snow drifts were laying on the summit of this mountain descended the mountain on the South side to a large spring of warm water flowing into a large vally [Goshute Valley] and spreading into a large swale covered in marsh grass here we encamped at the distance of 12 miles the day was cloudy and several light showers of snow fell on the mountains

24 S. E. across the vally of the warm spring and over a ridge of hills covered with shrubby Junts of cedars and into another vally of considerable length but not more than 6 or 8 miles wide distance to day 14 miles stopped at a lot of small springs on several low mounds but so thirsty is the earth that the water does not run more than 20 or 30 feet before it all disappears to the S. W. of this vally the hills rise in considerable peaks [Toano Range] covered in snow at this time animal life seem all most Extinct in this region and the few natives that try to make a precarious subsistence here are put to all that ingenuity can invent roots herbs insects and reptiles are sought for in all directions in some parts moles mice and gophers seem to be Quite plenty and in order to procure those that live entirely under the surface of the earth when a suitable place can be found a Brook is dammed up a ditch dug and the habitation of the mole inundated when the poor animal has to take to the surface and is caught by his enemy

25 again under way E. of S across another dry clay plain covered in shrubs of a very dwarfish character and over as dry a range of low mountains clothed in dwarfish cedars and Pines Came to a hole of water or rather a cluster of small springs¹⁵⁷ which like the last night disappeared in the parched earth immediately here we stopped and watered and nooned on again nearly east to a rather rough looking range of mountains ascended and found several snow drifts about the summit here we lost Fremonts trail and descended a southern ravine to all appearance dry as a fresh burnt brick Kiln unpacked and prepared ourselves for a night without water I ascended one of the dry Cliffs and to my astonishment saw a well of good cool water from the top of this range [Toano Range] we could have a fair view of one of those great Salt plains you may give some Idea of its [extent] when I assure you that we stood near the snow drifts and

¹⁵⁷ This is evidently Whitton Spring, near Shafter, Nevada, where Frémont divided his party.

surveyed this plain streching in all directions beyond the reach of vision

26 Spent the whole day in searching for the Trail which I succeeded in finding late in the afternoon

[Most of this page blank]

27 Left our camp near the top of the mountain and took a N. E. course to a high rugged looking butte [Pilot Peak] standing prominent and alone with the tops whitened in snow [Went] along the East side of this butte which stands in the salt plains to near the Eastern point 22 miles and encamped on a fine spring Brook [Pilot Peak Creek] that comes tumbling from the mountain in all its purity This butte affords numerous springs and brooks that loose themselves immediately in the salt plain below but the grass is plenty generally and the main bulk of the country produces nothing but a small curly thorn bush winding on the earth To the S. s. E. and East you have a boundless salt plain without vegetation except here and there a cliff of bare rocks standing like monumental pillars to commemorate the distinction of this portion of the Earth

28 Left our camp at the Snowy or more properly the spring Butte for this Butte affords several fine Brooks and took the Trail East and soon entered on the great salt plain the first plain is 6 or 7 miles wide and covered in many places three inches deep in pure white salt passed an Island of rocks in this great plain and entered the great plain over which we went in a bold trot untill dusk when we Bowoiked [bivouacked] for the night without grass or water and not much was said in fact all felt incouraged as we had been enformed that if we could follow Mr Fremonts trail we would not have more than 20 miles without fresh water In fact this is the [most] desolate country perhaps on the whole globe there not being one spear of vegetation and of course no kind of animal can subsist and it is not yet ascertained to what extent this immense salt and sand plain can be south of where we [are now] our travel to day was 40 miles

29 As soon as light began to shew in the East we were again under way crossed one more plain (to cross) and then ascended a rough low mountain [Cedar Mountain] still no water and our hopes were again disappointed Commenced our descent down a ravine made 14 miles and at length found a small spring of Brackish water [in Spring Valley] which did not run more than four rods before it all disappeared in the thirsty earth but mean and poor as the water was we and our animals Quenched our burning thirst and unpacked for the day after our rapid travel of about 20 hours and 30 hours without water

30 At an Early hour we were on our saddles and bore south 4

miles to another small spring of the same kind of water stoped and drank and continued changing our course to S E passed a small salt plain [Skull Valley] and several large salt springs changed again to E. or N. of E. a rugged mountain [Stansbury Range] to our right and a salt marsh to our left this mountain is The highest we have seen in these plains although 20 peaks are visible at all times to day 20 miles

M. 30 long before day was visible a small Bird of the mocking bird kind was heard to cheer us with his many noted Song and this is the only singing Bird that I have heard for the last 10 days in fact this desolation affords subsistence to nothing but Lizards, and scorpions which move like Lightning over the parched Earth in all directions as we pass along the spring we camp at to night is large and deep sending off a volume of Brackish water to moisten the white parched earth nearly all the rocks seen for .7 days past^d. is Black interspersed with white streaks or clouds and I Judge them to be a mixture of Black Bassalt and Quarts. our spring has great Quantities of fish in it some of considerable size

31 N. E. along the mountains to the N. Point where is an extensive spring of salt water after turning the point of the mountain we changed again to the S. E. along between the mountain and the great Salt Lake¹⁵⁸ Travel to day 20 miles and we passed some 15 or 20 large springs mostly warm and more or less salt some of them very salt camped at some holes of fresh water [Tooele Valley] in sight are several snowy mountains in fact snow may be seen in all most all directions and two peaks one to the S. W. and the other to the S. E. seem to be high enough to contain snow all the season. we have had two nights only since we left the Settlements of California without frost and to day is cold enough to ride with a heavy coat on and not feel uncomfortable

¹⁵⁸ Near Timpie, Utah, on the Western Pacific R. R.

BOOK 9

[*Front Cover*]

1846 . . .

James Clyman . . .

1846 June the 1st.

proceeded nearly east to the point of a high mountain [Oquirrh Mountains] that Bounds the Southern part of the greate salt lake I observed that this lake like all the rest of this wide spread Sterility has nearly wasted away one half of its surface since 1825 when I floated around it in my Bull Boate¹⁵⁹ and we crossed a large Bay of this Lake with our horses which is now dry and continue^d up the South side of the Lake to the vally [Salt Lake Valley] near the outlet of the Eutaw Lake and encamped at a fine large spring of Brackish water 20 miles (to) to day

after unpacking several Indians ware seen around us after considerable signing and exertion we got them to camp and they appeared to be friendly

In this vally contrary to any thing we had yet seen Lately the grass is full grown and some early Kinds are ripe (are ripe) and now full grown and still the mountains nearly all around are yet covered in snow

These Ewtaws as well as we could understand informed us that the snakes and whites ware now at war and that the snakes had killed two white men this news was not the most pleasant as we have to pass through a portion of the snake country

2 according to promis our Eutaw guide came this morning and conducted us to the ford on thee Eutaw river which we found Quite full and wetting several packs on our low mules but we all got safely over and out to the rising ground whare we found a fine spring brook and unpacked to dry our wet baggage

This stream [Jordan River] is about 40 yards wide running in a deep channel of clay banks and through a wide vally in some places well set in an excelent kind of grass But I should think that it would not be moist Enough for grain the mountains that surround this vally are pictureesque and many places beautifull being high and near the base smoothe and well set in a short nutericious grass Especially those to the West

Afternoon took our course E into the Eutaw [Wasatch] mountains

¹⁵⁹ See *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, vol. 4, p. 140, for further notes on this first navigation of Great Salt Lake.

and near night we found we had mistaken the Trail and taken one that bore too much to the South camped in a cove of the mountain making 25 miles the ravines and some of the side hills have groves of oak and sugar maple on them all of a short shrubby discription and many of the hill sides are well clothed in a good bunch grass and would if not too cold bear some cultivation

3 N. E. up the Brook [Emigration Creek] into a high rugged mountain not verry rocky but awfull brushy with some dificulty we reached the summit and commenced our dissent which was not so steep nor Quite so brushy the Brush on this ridge consists of aspen, oak cherry and white Firr the later of which is Quite like trees this ridge or mountain devides the waters of Eutaw from those [of] Weebers rivers and desended the South branch [Canyon Creek] of Weebers rivir untill it entered a rough Looking Kenyon when we bore away to the East up a small Brook and encamped at the head springs makeing to day about 18 miles on the top of the mountain we passed several snow drifts that had not yet thawed and the whole range to the S. W. and N. is more or less covered in snow and many peaks heavily clothed and the air cold and disagreeable some few light Showers of rain fell during the day and one shower of snow fell in the afternoon service berry in bloom as Likewis choke cherries no game seen through this region and it is difficult to determin what the few natives that inhabit this region subsist on

23 miles

4th North 4 miles down a ravin to Weabers River we struck this stream a short distance above the Junction of the N. and S. Branches and immedately above whare it enters the second Kenyon above its mouth¹⁶⁰ followed up the vally some 3 miles and crossed over found the stream about 50 yards wide muddy from the thawing of snow in the mountains south it has a rapid current over a hard gravelly bottom and it has a considerable Sized intervale through which it pases thickly covored in shrubby cotton wood and willows after crossing we took a deep cut ravin coming direct from the N. E. the Bluffs of this ravin are formed of red rock made of smoothe water washe^d pebbles and the North side in particular are verry high and perpendicular and in many places hanging over the narow vally is completely Strewn over with the boulder which have fallen from time to time from the cliffs above passed to day several clumps of oak

¹⁶⁰ In following this track, which Hastings himself had taken by mistake, the Donner-Reed party met with their first serious delay. The Mormon pioneers also entered the Salt Lake Valley by this route.

and sugar maple the cliffs however have scattering clumps of cedar on them To day saw one Lonesome looking poor grisly Bear

This [Weber River] like the Eutaw river heads in the Eutaw mountains and running North some distance Turns to the West and breaks through two ranges of mountains falls into the salt Lake 30 or 40 miles south of the mouth of Bear rivir and has a shallow barr at its mouth stuck over in drift wood.

26 [miles].

5th N. E. Up the Brook on which we encamped in a few miles it parted into several smaller Brooks and we continued up the most central notwithstanding the frosty morning several summer songsters ware warbling their loves or chirping amongst the small willows which skirted the little Brook as we passed along in a few hours ride we arived at the summit of the ridge that devides the waters of Weabers River from those of Bear River this ridge is high and several drifts of winters snow was still Lying a fiw miles to the souths of our rout notwithsanding this summit ridge is smoothe and handsomely clothed in young grass

Continued down the East side of the ridge and crossed over a small muddy stream running N. into Bear River struck Bear River a rapid stream 40 yards wide and running over a smoothe rocky Bed we found this stream fordabel and greate thickets of willows and catton wood growing in the bends Continued our course up a small Brook a few miles and camp^d. several times to day we had a sight of the Eutaw mountains completely covered in snow as the weather has been Quite to cool to have much effect upon the peaks of this rang of mountains

30 Miles

6 proceeded N. E. through a Barren range of wild sage hill and plains and deep wash^d. gutters with little alteration Except now and then a grove of shrubby cedars untill late in the afternoon when we struck the wagon trail leading from Bridgers Trading house to Bear River Turned on our course from N. E. to S. E. and took the road Toward Bridger near sun set we came to a small Stream of muddy water and Encamped

7 Packed up before sun rise and Took the road and at 10 A. M arived at the old deserted Trading house Judge of our chagrin and disappointment on finding this spot so long and so anxiously saught for standing solitary and alone without the appearance of a human being having visited it for at least a month and what the caus conjectur was rife but could [not] be certain except that Bridger and his whole company had taken the road N. W. Toward the Lower part of Bear

River havin had no grass whare we encamped last nig[ht] and finding plenty here about we unsadled and concluded to remain here to day and consult what was next to be done

In our weak and deffenceless state it was not easy to fix on any safe plan of procedure some proposed to return to Bear River and risk the hostility of the snake Indians others proposed to take the trail Travel slowly and risk the Sioux^s. which ware supposed to be on our rout to Fort Larrimie so that the day was taken up in discusing what would be the most safe way of disposing ourselves a sufficiant time to await the company from oregon to the states which was generally supposed would be Quite large this season the day was warm and the creek rose rapidly from the thawing of the snow on the Eutaw mountains and this is the season of high water in this region nothing can be mor desolate and discouraging than a deserted fort whare you expect relief in a dangerous Indian country and every imaginary Idea was started as to what had been the caus of Bridgers leaving his establishment But nothing satisfactory could possibly be started and we ware still as far in the dark as ever

8 After greate deli[b]eration and all circunstances brought to bear on the subject it was agreed to part Mr Hastings his man and Indian servant wished to go some 50 or 60 miles N. stop and await the arival of the company from oregon 4 men of us one woman and one boy ware detirmined to go back to Bear River there being two trails from green river to bear rever it was uncertain which the oregon company might take if allready not passed so wa all started togather once more and after comeing to the seperating place we all continued on for the day and encamped in a small vally whare we encamped in Aug^t 2 yare ago

and here it is remarkable that the small vally a few years since has been completely covered with Buffalo as their Bones which lay thickly strewed over the Earth plainly indicate and near the same time it has likewis been covered in natives as their camp fires show and for the last 2 years it has at times ben as completely covered with civilization

9 Again under way and we soon assended the ridge (for in this country it cannot be caled a mountain) and changed our course from W. to N and desended to the Bear river vally this is one of the upper vallies on this stream and is Quite Large being from 30 to 40 miles Long and 6 to 8 miles wide Bounded Both E. and W. by a range of Bald mountains shewing in a peculiar manner their volcanic oragin by their standing in the form of wavse of the ocean at a late hour we came to camp near the N or lower extremity of this vally

10 A shosne Indian came to our camp this morning and informed us that no whites had yet arrived or passed from the west

But what was our disappointment on arriving on the Oregon trail to find that a large party of horses and mules had passed apparently some 5 or 10 days previous so our hopes were to all appearances blasted for this season 2d & 6 June

11 Packed up and concluded to move down Bear River to Bridgers camp and await a few days for more company after Traveling 4 or 5 miles down the wagon trail we met our old companions from California who had come by the way of Fort Hall and as we were informed that all the company from Oregon had probably passed we turned our course to the East again so accordingly we all joined once more and took the trail S. E. over high rolling mountains diversified with handsome groves of aspen Poplar and Fir of that kind called the white Balsam Fir we came to camp late at Hamms creek a beautiful clear running stream about 30 yards wide and running S. E. into Blacks Fork of the Seetkadee or green River

12 Took the Trail again over the same Kind of high rolling country and a number of snow drifts were seen lying along the hills mostly to our left and we passed as yesterday numerous groves of Aspen and saw a number of antelope coursing over the Hills several of which were killed and found to eat well after living so long on dry provision.

Nooned at a fine cool spring which breaks out in a grove of aspen [Traveled] Eastwardly along a very winding crooked trail and over some rough hilly or rather mountainous country numerous groves of Aspen Fir and willow came in sight of the green River valley and camp^d. at a small spring this is the third day that thunder showers passed in all directions around us but very little has fallen on us

13 East on the Trail But we soon passed our fine mountain district and descended into the valley of Le Bage^s. creek on this stream I met with or rather suffered a Defeat from a war party of Arapahoes in 1824 [1825]¹⁶¹ and the appearance of the stream brought back some serious reflections as we passed down its level valley crossed over the hills and soon came in sight of green River where we stopped and found the stream 80 or 100 yards wide rapid and quite too deep to ford The afternoon proved showery and we remained here with the unpleasant idea of having the River to raft if we can find a suitable place

14 Moved up the River a few miles and made preparations to

¹⁶¹ See p. 44.

raft the river and after making the best sort of a craf we could possibly [build] out of such metireal as could be had which was miserably poor we made two attempts to cross over but failed bothe times

15 Commenced early and after greate labour oweing to the rapidity of the water we were carried down about a mile but finally succeeded in landing a small portion of our Baggage on the oposite shore and finding our raft too large we were unable to take it back so we had to pack timber over a mile and make smaller rafts my mess haveing made a small one we commenced crossing and made land in about Half a mile and with grate exertion ware able to tow it up and recross and so we continued to do some 8 or 10 triips untill we all got safe over this cold rapid river of snow water and encamped on the oposite or East shore

16 Left the Seetskadee early and mad a push of 30 or 35 miles and Encamped on Big sandy this is a flat Runing stream over a sand bottom and we found it Bank full from the thawing of the snow on the wind river mountains in which it rises but apearantly it had fallen a little

These wind river mountains are nearly all covered yet in their white winters robes allthough the middle of June most of the snow however goes off by the middle of July

This is a good vally for grass but scarce of timber their [being] little but willows

17 Moved up Eastwardly toward the summit of the Rocky mountains the day was cool the country sage plain after crossing little sandy which is not more than 4 miles from our camp The mornings are cold and disagreeable so mouch so that I think we have not had more than 4 or 5 nights without frost since we left the greate plains of california and the grass in some places is short

campd on a marshy spring plenty of sage but no timber in any reasonable distance I noticed in this neighbourhood that there had been a tremendous hail storm a few days since which in places had beat all the vegetation completely into the Earth

18 A beautifull clear morning and (and) several of our company commenced prophesying that we should se some persons to day but Quite uncertain wheter white or red in one hours ride we came to the summit of the main rocky mountains which is nearly a level plain with a slight inclination each way and we soon hailed the small river of sweet water and it gave Quite a cheering statisfactory Idea allthough at so greate a distance to think that I was once more on the waters of the Missisippi and its ripling waters sounded in Idea like sweet home

as we continued down the ridges on the N. side we came in sight of several male Buffaloe feeding on the young tender herbage and our camp at a small grove of (Apin) was well supplied in Buffaloe meat

19 The sun set unusually clear and Beautifull Last night behind the everlasting snow covered peaks of the wind River mountains and I had a fine view of this back bone of North America whose crags looked more like a ruined city than a mountain. While Far in the East some large herds of Buffalou ware grazing over their sage clad hills and several antelopes ware frisking and strangely gazing around our camp and animals The morning was cool but as soon as the sun arose it became warm and sultry

Continued down on the N side of sweet water river saw plenty of Buffaloe in the afternoon made a long days drive and encamped on the open Prarie a short time after dark our animals took a fright and nearly all those that ware tied Broke and away they went with much the same rapidity and nearly the same nois as a greate number of rocks would make rolling down a steep mountain you may Judge that some of us at least did not sleep sound under the supposition that a war party of Indians had run them away from us

20 Early all the environs of our camp was examined but [no] sign of Indians could be found a few of us mounted some of our remaining horses and followed the trail about three miles whare to our greate Joy we found all our animals feeding Quietly

saddled and continued East down the stream about noon some of the advance found a horse that [had] been left no doubt by some of the oregon [train] six or eight days ahead of us

saw a few Bufaloe on the hills some miles to the south the day was warm with a south wind

21 Down the stream and at about one oclock came to the independence rock here our party small as it was split and about half of us concluded to remain over night the others went ahead late in the afternoon we had another stampide last night but our animals did not go far and so soon war collected again

22 Made an Early start from this morning and here we leave sweet water and take across the hills in a few hours we came in sight of several herds of Buffalo which seemed to be travelling southward an indication observed by old mountaineers that their is some persons Red or White in the direction from which the buffalo come stop^d. at the willow spring for some of our party to come in with meat

23 Near sun set last night two French Trappers came to camp an informed us that the advance party of emigrants war over the

North Branch of the Platte Early on our saddles and in about 3 hours we met the advance company of oregon Emigration consisting of Eleven wagons nearly oposite the red Butes when we came in sight of N. Platte we had the Pleasant sight of Beholding the valy to a greate distance dotted with Peopl Horses cattle wagons and Tents their being 30 wagons all Buisily engaged in crossing the River which was found not to be fordable and with the poor material they had to make rafts of it took two trips to carry over one waggon with its lading

we however ware not long in crossing as we threw our baggage on the returning rafts and swam our animals over and encamped onc more in the Buisy humm of our own Language

24 Down the N. Platte and during the day we passed three small companies some for Oregon and some for california

It is remarkable how anxious thes people are to hear from the Pacific country and strange that so many of all kinds and classes of People should sell out comfortable homes in Missouri and Elsewhare pack up and start across such an emmence Barren waste to settle in some new Place of which they have at most so uncertain information but this is the character of my countrymen

25 Continued down the River a few miles and Turned south through the Hills on account of the Rocky Kenyons that bind the stream on its passage through the Black hills mountains

To day we met all most one continual stream of Emigrants wending their long and Tedious march to oregon & california and I found it allmost impossible to pass these honest looking open harted people without giving them some slight discription of what they might Expect in their newly adopted and anxious sought for new home but necessity only could compel us onward

at our usual hour of camping we came to a small Brook whare a company of them ware Just coming up to camp Likewise and they came to us with Pail fulls of good new milk which to us was a treat of greate rarity after so many long tiresome days travel

26 South across the hills and to day as yestarday we passed several small Brooks and met 117 teams in six different squads all bound for oregon and california in the evening we again had the pleasur of encamping with a company for california and they kept us in conversation untill near midnight

27 we met numerous squad of emigrants untill we reached fort Larrimie whare we met Ex governor [Lilburn W.] Boggs and party from Jackson county Mi[ss]ourie Bound for California and we camped

with them several of us continued the conversation untill a late hour.¹⁶²

And here I again obtained a cup of excellent coffee at Judge Morins camp the first I had tasted since in the early part of last winter and I fear that during our long conversation I changed the purposes of Governor and the Judge for next morning they both told me they inte[n]ded to go to Oregon.

28 Late in the morning we got on the road again and met another party of emigrants consisting of 24 Wagons and they told us that so far as they knew they were the last on the road about noon we passed Bissinett's Trading house and a few miles further on we met Bissinette¹⁶³ himself returning from Missouri with a small supply of goods for the trade and from him we were informed that there were 40 Teams yet on the road and that the Pawnees had killed one man We

¹⁶² Edwin Bryant in his journal, *What I saw in California*, 1848, p. 114, gives an account of meeting with Clyman's party at Fort Laramie on this date. He says that one of the men of that party spoke highly unfavorably of California.

J. Q. Thornton in his *Oregon and California*, Vol. 1, pp. 110-11, also speaks of Clyman's company, remarking upon their "woebegone appearance" and the "evil report" they brought:—

"The Californians affirmed that the country was wholly destitute of timber, and that wheat could not be raised in sufficient quantities for bread; that they had spent all their substance, and were now returning to commence the world anew.

"Among the Oregonians was a Mr McKissick, an old gentleman, suffering from blindness caused by the dust of the way, when he first emigrated into Oregon. He was now being taken back to the States, with the hope that something might be done to restore his sight."

The testimony of Bryant and Thornton, together with Clyman's own remarks, contradicts a statement, made by Zoeth Eldredge in his *History of California*, that Clyman influenced the Donner party unfavorably in their choice of a route.

James Clyman knew James Frazier Reed, one of the leaders of the Donner subdivision, having served with him in Jacob Early's company in the Black Hawk War. In Montgomery's "Biographical Sketch of Clyman," introductory to a transcript of Clyman's diaries in the Bancroft Library, Clyman is quoted as follows:

"We met Gov. Boggs and party at Fort Laramie. It included the Donner Party. We camped one night with them at Laramie. I knew Gov. Boggs, had got acquainted with him at St. Louis. Had known Mr Reed previously in the Sauk war. He was from Springfield Illinois. . . .

"Mr Reed, while we were encamped at Laramie was enquiring about the route. I told him to 'take the regular wagon track [by way of Fort Hall] and never leave it—it is barely possible to get through if you follow it—and it may be impossible if you don't.' Reed replied, 'There is a nigher route, and it is of no use to take so much of a roundabout course.' I admitted the fact, but told him about the great desert and the roughness of the Sierras, and that a straight route might turn out to be impracticable.

"The party when we separated took my trail by which I had come from California, south of Salt Lake, and struck the regular emigrant trail again on the Humboldt."

Owing to delays on this route the Donner party failed to get across the Sierra before the October snows blocked them.

¹⁶³ Cf. Parkman, *Oregon Trail*, 1892 ed., pp. 171, 311-12.

had previously heard that they had stolen a numbr of horses and one company had lost 120 head of cattle either Strayed or Stolen

29 Parted with some of my old acquaintances who ware on thier way (to) some for Oregon and some for california the Ex governor Boggs and Judge Morin changed their notion to go to Oregon in place of california Passed a small trading house on the River a few miles Below the old Larrimee establishment and one more company of emigrants most of the Emigrants we have met seemed to be in good health and fine spirits But some are much discouraged and a few have turned back about noon we passed the sumit of Scotts Bluffs and took a drink of good cool spring water in the evening we met a nother party of waggon and with a larger company at night which ware supposed to be the last we should meet on the way

These last companies have had greate difficulties in passing the Pawnee country and have lost a greate many cattle and some of their horses and one man was killed (was killed) in trying to recover their lost cattle so that we have no favourable reports of our prosspects ahead and it will require all our ingenuity and vigilance for sometime to come for us to travel in any kind of safety

30 Passed the chimney rock and at noon overtook a party of 12 or 15 men some from oregon and a few that had turned back to Missouri at Larimie in the evening we encamped on the River within about one mile of those a head of us

July the 1th 1846 A heavy dew last night and a clear cool morn- ing in the afternoon met Mr J. M. Wair [Weir] with a small party of six wagons Mr Wair risidid in Oregon some yares and had went to the states last summer and was now on his return to Oregon again

This evening shews fair for rain

2 Rapid Thunder & Lightning last night with a light shower of rain this morning is extremely warm we traveled S of East down the River untill about noon when we arived at the ash Hallow whare we found a company of Mormon Emigrants Encamped consisting of nineteen wagons¹⁶⁴ these people are on their way to Oregon and in-

¹⁶⁴ This appears to be the only record of Mormons so far west in 1846. There is no evidence that this party went on to Oregon. At this date the Mormon leaders had not decided whether to cross the plains that year or winter on the Missouri. The various companies were scattered, and one large train starting from Council Bluffs in the latter part of July, 1846, is said to have had written orders from Brigham Young to proceed to California. A few days later this party was instructed to go into winter quarters along the Platte and at Grand Island. They went on, however, to the Ponca village on Running-Water River (Wood River?). Their leader, George Miller, in his journal, complains of the delays due to the countermanding of orders and indicates his distrust of the self-appointed president at Council Bluffs. See, H. W. Mills, *De Tal Palo Tal Astilla*, in Ann. Publ. Hist. Soc. Southern Calif., 1917, pp. 105-6.

formed us that the Pawnees had followed them and stole three horses last night They keeping a strick guard and the animals haveing been Tied to their wagons

This encampment has the advantage of plenty of fuell and clear spring water and most travelers stop here one day at least there being no timbber East nor West for some distance

3. South across the ridge deviding the N. and S Branches of the greate Platte River about 20 miles the day was verry warm and the road dusty you think we ware verry thirsty and so we ware But had to Quench our Burning [thirst] with warm water fully half mud for this is the character of all the Platte waters of any size half mud and sand running over a wide shallow bed exposed to the Burning rays of a verticle sun But this is the best that can be had in crossing over this south branch one man and one woman got plunged from their Horses and well drenched in the turbid stream

4 The sun arose in his usual majestic splendor no firing of canon was heard no flags waving to the early morning Breeze. Nothing no nothing heard but the occasional howl of the wolf or the hoarse croak of the raven nothing seen But the green wide spread Prarie and the shallow wide spread river roling its turbed muddy waters far to the East the only relief is the on rising ground occasionally doted with a few stragling male Buffaloe and one Lonely Junt of a cotton wood Tree some miles down the stream the only occupant of a small low Island (not much veriety) O my country and my Country men the rich smiling surface of on[e] and the gladsome Shouts of the other Here we are 8 men 2 women and one boy this day entering into an enimies country who if posible will Butcher every individual or at least strip us of every means of comfort or convenience and leave us to make our tiresome (som) way to relief and this immediatly on your frontier and under the eye of a strong Militay post The day proved verry still and warm and we overtook a small prarty of Emigrants that ware ahead consisting of seven men 2 young Ladies and one verry sick man some of thier company haveing left them an hour before our arival on account of their slow traveling The eight men that had parted from these in their defenceless state intended to make a rapid Push and travel day and night untill they passed the Pawnee Teritory

5 The morning verry warm with a dew like rain The sick man seems to grow worse and has a high fever saw greate herds of Buffalo on Both sides of the river We nearly reached the Forks of Platte and late in the evening we had a short rapid showers of rain and in the night our animals took a Fright at an old Buffaloe that approached

our camp and we had some difficulty in Keeping our Horses from breaking from the stake

6 Clear and verry warm Passed the Juction of the N & South Branches of the Platte and came to the Bluffs which are steep and rough with numerous small groves of rid cedar Nooned at ash run the first shade we have found for 10 or 12 days Continued down the River the hills and vallies on this stream are generally well covered in several kinds of grass and some portions of the vally would no doubt bear good grain of several kinds

7 This morning we had a remarkable heavy dew. the day was warm an Sultry and our animals sweated profusely as well as ourselves saw several Large Herds of Buffalo on the oposite side of the River Probaby the last that will be seen on our direction

8 A warm night and thee muskeetoos war troublesome all night this fore noon we passed Plumb Creek and nooned a short distance above the head of Grand Isleand we have had a beautifull road for some days being a livel dry Prarie Bottom from 2 to 4 miles wide the Islands and some of the main of the river is generally skirted with willow and small shrubby cottonwood

9 another warm night with a south wind we are now near the Pawne village and anxiety to pass without interuption at its highest pitch some light showers of rain fell during the day and several horses are failing and will soon have to be left

Left the Platte in the afternoon and crossed over the ridge and camp^d. on the waters of Kaw river

10 a cloudy night without rain a Mr McKizack was left Behind last night being himself nearly Blind and his horses verry poor his messmate Mr. Stump went back this morning to assist him to come up

saw a horse yestarday that had been shot lying by the way side

Mr stump returned about noon and could find nothing of Mr McKissick we moved on in the afternoon to the west fork of Blue river and encamped early for the purpose of making a more thorough search for the lost man But in a few minuits after stoping the old man hove in sight to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. several thunder showers passed around during the afternoon and a short rapid one but of short duration did not miss us about sun set The west Fork is small here but nearly clear and cool compared with the waters of the Platte the vallies are moderately large and the soil rich but no timber Except cottonwood and willow with here and there a chance Plumb bush now full of green fruit

11 Down the stream some ash and oak occurred this fore noon

with some Elm Likewise The day was cool and Pleasant and the vally fine and green the soil in many places rich

12 A Tremendious heavy dew fell last night and the day proved warm and Sultry heard several familiar noisis such as the whistleing of Quails and the croakings of the Bull frog those sounds are not heard in the far west in the afternoon we left the West Branch of Blue River and crossed the Prarie ridges to the N. E. and encamped on a broad sandy Brook now nearly dry

13 Continued across the ridges and nooned late at Fosale Brook which detained us 2 days in Passing out [in 1844] now nearly dry some Black walnut and Honey Locust occur here for the first seen S. E. over high rich roling Prarie but without much useful timber and poorly supplied with spring water

14 over the same kind of country as yestarday in the forenoon passed rock creek scarcely affording sufficient wate[r] to run from Pool to Pool a rapid shower of rain fell in evening

15 Continued in the afternoon we crossed greate Blue river and camp^d. on the East Bank

This stream affords some fine rich vallies of cultivateable land and the Bluffs are made of a fine lime rock with some good timber and numerous springs of clear cool water here I observed the grave of Mrs Sarak Keys agead 70 yares who had departed this life in may [29th] last¹⁶⁵ at her feet stands the stone that gives us this information This stone shews us that all ages and all sects are found to undertake this long tedious and even dangerous Journy for some unknown object never to be realized even by those the most fortunate and why because the human mind can never be satisfied never at rest allways on the strech for something new some strange novelty

on our Return from California a Mr [Caleb] Greenwood and his two sons¹⁶⁶ made a part of our company this man the Elder is now from his best recollection 80 years of age and has made the trip 4 times in 2 yares in part

16 Left Blue River and soon passed the Burr oak creek a narrow Rippling stream at this time with wide Extensive Bottoms which in times of greate freshets are completely overflown the land rich and surface roling sub strata white lime Stone of a fine shining appearance

17 East of South over a roling gravelly Prarie in many Places

¹⁶⁵ She was the mother of Mrs. James Frazier Reed of the Donner Party. The grave is near Manhattan, Kansas.

¹⁶⁶ Probably John and Sam; Britain was in California in 1846-47, and the other two boys, Governor Boggs and Davy Crockett, were quite young at this time.

uneven nooned at cannon Ball Creek which now has but little running water on the ripples

The afternoon passed over Beautifull rich Prarie but no valuable Timber

18 In the fore noon crossed the Black vermilion to day the Trail runs nearly East nooned at a small Brook which has a fine small vally of good Burr oak Timber and fine Prarie in the Neighbourhood the water Poor in the afternoon we passed over roling hilly Prarie Country

19 Started from the stake and came to Knife creek for Breakfast found the muketoes verry troublesome and a goodly number Horse flies met a small party of men going to Fort Larrimie who gave us a more full account of the stat of affairs Between the U. S. and Mexico and further told us that Two Thousand mounted Troops had lately left Misouri for St Afee and that one Thousand more [the Mormon Battalion] are now Leaveing Early in the afternoon arived at Kaw River and got our Baggage taken over in a canoe and Swam our animals across

20 Took the Trail down Kaw River passing immediately through a small settlement of Saukie Indians Their small farms had a Thrifty appearance and the corn and vegitables looked well and more like civilization than any thing I had seen lately The flies nearly Eat our horses up camp^d. on the Waukarusha

21 Early on our saddles with the intention to cheat the flies But they ware up and out as soon as us in about six miles however we came to a thick settlement of Shawnees and the flies which had anoyed us so much now became Quite Scarce and had it not been for the heat of the weather and the bad Quality of the water traveling would have been comfortable we encamped in the best cultivated part of the Shawnee country this tribe are far advanced in civilization and make thier intire subsistance by agraculture and some are begining to learn the more rougher kinds of Mechanism such as hewing of timber making of Shingles and building of common wooden houses Their farms are mostly on the Prarie lands and their crops of grain look tolerable well the corn in Particular

22 It Thundred and Lightned all night but did not rain in the forenoon we passed through west Porte a small ordinary village one half mile within the state of Missourie and some time before night reached Indipendence the Seat of Justice for Jackson county

23 It rained the most part of the night last night but the morn- ing was fair and we found ourselves surrounded by civilization and had to answer numerous [questions] about the country we had visited and

many more consarning acquaintances that ware in Oregon and California disposed of my mules and mad my appearance at Mr Nolands Tavern and a Rough appearance it was But such things are not atall strange in Independance as it [is] the first place all the Parties r[e]ach from the Mountains from St A Fee California and Oregon

the [weather] was verry warm and suffocating and in this particular you find a greate difference in the heat of summer in California you find it cool and pleasant in the shade while here you find [it] hot and suffocating in [the] coolest place you can find

24 A Remarkable warm day But I must say I injoyed the time well in reading the papers that came by last nights mail and in the varied conversation I had with several gentlemen during the day

[Three blank pages follow; then:]

On the first day of May we succeeded in crossing the main summit of the california mountains or the Siera Nevada the snow being from 3 to 8 feet deep on the western slope but on turning down the Eastern side it was perhaps from 8 to 20 or even 30 feet deep owing to the wind being allways from the South West when the snow is falling and carrying larg Quanti[t]ies from the western side which is deposited on the East side near the summit this mountain is generally thickly covered with a large groth of pine firr and other ever green Timber The rock near the summit is a light grey granite lying in large compact masses with a steep irregular rounded surface and none of the usual indications of recent Earth Quakes concrections or volcanic contortions But on desending some 16 or 18 miles thro a rough uneven vally you again arive at the Baysalt region and the stream has broke its way through several hunded feet in depth of Black frowning rock that one would think had onec ben liquidated by intense heat the large timber disappears and the hills are covered with Artemisia or as it is best known by the name of wild sage

[Last Page]

[Record of number of emigrant wagons met on the plains in 1846]

[June]	23	W	[wagons met]	11
	24	"		50
	25	"		66 = 17
	26	"		26 . . 91
	27			104 . . 24
	28			28 . . 24
	29			15 one Party of Packers
	30			22
[July]	1		6	" " " Packers

This is the end of the diaries, written during journeys of over two years through the far West and often, as Clyman said, with the little notebook resting upon his knee beside the camp-fire at night.

OVERLAND TO CALIFORNIA IN 1848

TRAVELERS returning to St. Louis from California in 1846 were doubtless eagerly questioned, not only for news of the far West but also for word from their friends among the caravans on the plains. An agent of the *Missouri Republican* met Clymer and obtained from him a brief statement and excerpts from his diaries, which were published in that newspaper on July 30, 1846:¹⁶⁷

FROM CALIFORNIA

A gentleman who has passed the two last years in Oregon and California reached this city yesterday. His name is James Clymer, and [he] migrated from Milwaukie, with a view of determining for himself the character of that country. He left California, in company with six other persons, the latter end of April, and has been ninety days on the route. Mr. Clymer has kindly permitted us to glance at his diary — we could do no more — kept for the whole time of his absence, and to select such facts as may interest our readers. We have, of necessity, to take such incidents as occurred during his return home, passing over many descriptions of country, soil, places, mountains, people and government, in Oregon and California.

On the 16th of March last, Mr. Clymer refers, in his journal, to the extraordinary avidity with which news is manufactured in that country; and says, that Lieut. Fremont had raised the American flag in Monterrey — of course the town of that name on the Pacific — that all good citizens were called upon to appear forthwith, at Sonoma, armed and equipped for service under Gen. Byajo, to defend the rights of Mexican citizens. This report subsequently appeared, was founded on the fact, that Lieut. Fremont had raised the American [flag] at his camp, near the Mission of St. John's and that he declined to call on some of the legal authorities, when ordered to do so. It was said, that in consequence of this state of things, General Castro had raised four hundred men at Monterrey; that he marched to Lieut. Fremont's camp on the 22nd of March, from which he had retreated; and that he there found numerous pack-saddles, baggage, and a considerable quantity of specie. Lieut. Fremont was last heard of, after Mr. Clymer had left, on the Rio Sacramento; but as he kept his own counsel, no one knew his object in going there, or when he would return to the United States. He had lost one man, who was killed by the Indians, and had discharged others.

Mr. Clymer met, at different times and under different circumstances, parties of Emigrants to Oregon or California, who were roving about discontented, and going back and forth, as whim dictated. On the 22nd of March, he notices having met, in California, a party of one hundred and fifty persons, thirty or forty of whom were then going to the Columbia river, having become tired of *the other paradise*. On the 20th of April, Mr. Sumner and his family arrived at camp, prepared for their journey to the States. Mr. Sumner had been in Oregon; from thence he went to California; and, being still dissatisfied, he was now returning, after having spent five years in traveling and likewise a small fortune.

He met [!], and left Mr. L. P. [L. W.] Hastings, the author of a work on California, at his camp on Bear Creek, a small creek running into Feather River. He was located near the road travelled by the emigrants to California. Mr. Hastings had been looking for some force from the States, with which it was designed to revolutionize California, but in this he had been disappointed. He was then, it seemed, awaiting the action of the American Government, in taking possession of that country — of which he appeared to have some intimation. Mr. Clymer heard, on his return homeward, of the arrival of the several United States vessels of war at Monterrey, but knows nothing more about them. . . .

¹⁶⁷ Courtesy of Miss Stella M. Drumm, of the Missouri Historical Society. This article was copied in the *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, August 8, 1846, and in the *Oregon Spectator*, April 29, 1847.

During the next eighteen months Clyman visited his friends in Wisconsin and spent the winter with his old Rocky Mountain comrade, John Bowen of Wauwautosa. It was said long afterward that he tried to interest some of his acquaintances in the purchase of land in California — that he knew of a ranch of 80,000 acres there which could be obtained for 4,000 dollars. This tract was said to have been near the present site of Vallejo and to have been "sold" when Clyman returned for it.

It seems that there may have been some truth in these statements, no other reasons being known why Clyman should have made plans, after his arrival in California in 1848, to return East again the next year.

Whatever these plans were, it is known that he was engaged as guide to a company of emigrants, one of the few trains that crossed the plains to California in 1848. Mexican war troubles, treaty delays and the fate of the Donner party kept all but the most hardy California bound emigrants off the plains during the two years before the gold rush, and but little is recorded of the immigration of 1848.

It seems that a large part of Clyman's company belonged to one family, the Mecombs',¹⁶⁸ who hailed from Indiana. They were restless frontier settlers, having been pioneers of Ohio and Michigan in previous years. The elders were Lambert and Hannah Mecombs, and the children, mostly grown and nearly all married, were Benjamin F., William, Jacob R., Joseph D., Isaac, Aramintha, Martha, Hannah and Rebecca. On the plains another member joined the train, a baby that lived only a few days.

Little is known of Lambert, the head of the house, except that he was sixty-four years old when he arrived in California in '48 and that he died on December 6 of the next year. Hannah, his wife, was the leading spirit of the family. She was a Mendenhall, born December 22, 1787, in Pennsylvania, on the battle field of Brandywine. Her ancestors were sturdy Dutch-Quaker stock, and she herself lived nearly one hundred years. Her eldest son, Ben, became in his latter years a hermit, living until recently in the northern part of the State of Washington. "Jake" and "Joe" were twins. Isaac, born in Ohio, September 13, 1820, raised a family in California, where he died May 4, 1904.

The eldest daughter "Minty" married a Backus. Her children were Hannah, Blake and Joseph. Martha became Mrs. Hardman, and one of her sons married James Clyman's foster-daughter, Alice Broad-

¹⁶⁸ The spelling, whether Mecombs or McCombs, is a matter of dispute in the family, some claiming the Scotch, others the Irish form. Lambert Mecombs' gravestone at Napa has the name spelled as I have given it, but as his grave was changed three different times even this may not indicate his way of spelling it.

hurst, his own first cousin. "Becky," the youngest, married Stephen Broadhurst, who probably came overland in the Mecombs' train. Hannah became James Clyman's wife. She was an unusually forceful and determined little woman, physically spry and mentally bright until almost the day of her death in 1908, at the age of 86. She carried out her own very decided ideas in the management of her affairs, among other things never permitting the hired men to milk her cows, always doing it herself and saying that "a man would spoil a good cow."

There seems to be no definite record of other members of this company, but possibly William Bedwell and Martin Hudson, both of Sonoma, came with it.¹⁶⁹

Incidents of the journey are almost unknown. Clyman said the trip was "without incident" but it probably would not have been so to a tenderfoot. The party left the Missouri about the first of May and arrived in California on September 5. Curiously enough, they heard of the gold discovery while en route, from members of the returning Mormon Battalion. The effect of this news upon the overlanders must have been electrical to judge from the diaries of Israel Evans and Henry W. Bigler.¹⁷⁰

Evans tells an amusing story which might have been associated with the Mecombs'-Clyman train.

In August, 1848, somewhere east of the lower crossing of the Truckee River, Evans' party of Mormons met a train of California bound immigrants. Telling the people of the new Eldorado, one of the Mormons "poured into his hand perhaps an ounce of gold and began stirring it with his finger. One aged man of probably over three score years and ten [Lambert Mecombs?], who had listened with intense interest while his expressive eyes fairly glistened, could remain silent no longer; he sprang to his feet, threw his old wool hat upon the ground, and jumped upon it with both feet, then kicked it high in the

¹⁶⁹ On the next to the last page of Book 9, James Clyman's overland diary of 1846, is a list of names in Clyman's handwriting. From the inclusion of Hudson and Bedwell it might be thought that this was a list of Clyman's company of 1848, but the few other names that are known do not bear out this supposition. Thus, W. G. Chiles and Samuel Dewel were not born until later, Chiles being a covered wagon baby of 1854. Thomas Hudson and William Hargrave were 1844 emigrants, and Thomas Wesley Bradley came with Joseph B. Chiles in 1843. There were at least two J. Grigsbys, Jesse and Captain John.

I give the list for someone else to puzzle over:

Richard Smith, William H. Gilbert, Wm. Hains, James B. Sears, Daniel Prigmore, John Cowie, Adolphus E. Haff, Turner Crump, Benjamin H. Smith, S[amuel?] Dewel, Thos. Hudson, Alex Dunbar, Martin Hudson, John W. Smith, William Long, William Bedwell, Tibbs & Saunders, William Hargrave, Eliza Wright, Jas. Croslin, Powel H. Haeff, Eli Roberts, Wm. Kelsey, J. Grigsby, Jos. Prigmore, Isaac Wood, Thos. McMahan, H. S. Foshe, Thos. Bradly, Thos. J. Young, W. G. Chiles, C. W. Boyer.

¹⁷⁰ Evans' diary is quoted in Daniel Tyler, *History of the Mormon Battalion*, 1881, p. 340. Bigler's MS *Diary of a Mormon* is in the Bancroft Library.

air, and exclaimed, 'Glory hallaluja, thank God, I shall die a rich man yet!'"

Bigler's party of returning Mormons met 18 emigrant wagons at the sink of the Humboldt on August 18. The fact that this train had come by way of Fort Hall leads one to think that it may have been Clyman's train. One of this party, Hazen Kimball, had spent the winter at Salt Lake. The next day Bigler mentions a train of 25 wagons bound for California. This was perhaps Pierre B. Cornwall's train.¹⁷¹ On the 26th he notes ten wagons, which may have been a party with James T. Walker, who had set out in 1847. On the 27th Samuel Hensley's company "of ten on packs came up" and Hensley told them of a short cut to Salt Lake that he had just taken and gave them a "way bill" of this new route which evidently deviated from Hastings' cut-off. On the 30th Bigler encountered Captain Joseph B. Chiles and his company of 48 wagons. "He gave us a way bill purporting to give a still nearer route than that of Hensleys." Except for the brief notes of J. P. C. Allsopp,¹⁷² who came with a small party of young men and did not reach San Francisco until December 15, 1848, this completes the scanty records of the 1848 immigrants by the Salt Lake route.

The strange sights that greeted Clyman upon his arrival are recorded in a letter to H. J. Ross of Wisconsin:¹⁷³

*Napa Valley, Alta California,
Dec. 25th, 1848.*

Friend Ross:—The uncertainty of letters reaching you makes it necessary that I state to you again that we left the west of Missouri on the 1st of May and arrived here on the 5th of September without accident or interruption of any kind worthy of notice. Matters and things here are strangely and curiously altered since I left this country. No business of any kind is carried on except what is in some way connected with the gold mines. You have no doubt seen and heard several descriptions of those mines and supposed them all fabulous, but I am persuaded that nothing has yet reached you that would give you any adequate idea of the extent and immense richness of the mining region. Gold is now found in length from North to South, over a distance of between 400 and 500 miles, and in width from 40 to 60 miles, and nearly every ravine will turn out its thousands. There are at this time not less than 2000 white men and more than double that number of Indians washing gold at the rate of some two ounces per day, making

¹⁷¹ Bruce Cornwall, *Life Sketch of Pierre Barlow Cornwall*, San Francisco; 1906.

¹⁷² Allsopp, *Leaves from My Log Book*, MS, Bancroft Library.

¹⁷³ From the *Milwaukee Sentinel & Gazette*, July 4, 1849, courtesy of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

over \$300,000 per day,¹⁷⁴ and this great quantity and the ease with which it is produced has caused a tremendous rise in provisions and all kinds of manufactured goods. Flour in the mines sells at \$1 per lb — dried beef and bacon \$2 per lb., &c. I forbear to mention anything more, for all articles bear the same proportions, as gold is the most plenty and of course the least valuable.

All the inhabitants of this immediate country left their farms to hunt and wash gold. All of the summer crop and considerable of the wheat was destroyed by the stock. Oregon has sent us some flour, and more than half of her male population, all of the foreigners and a portion of the Natives have arrived from the Sandwich Islands, and we may expect a large emigration from the States next season. Tell all of the lovers of gold and sunshine that this is the place to suit them. But very little else is to be seen or had here. We had a shower of rain last week for the first time since May, and the grass is beginning is [to] shoot a little. I shall return to the States again in about one year from this time. Give my respects to all enquiring friends.

JAMES CLAYMAN [Clyman].

P. S. Enclosed you will find a small specimen of gold. It is found in all shapes and sizes up to twenty pounds weight.

[This letter was postmarked San Francisco, March 16th, 1849.]

Clyman and others of the train probably yielded to the temptation to try a turn or two at gold washing — his descendants still possess some good sized nuggets that he found — and some members of the party doubtless stayed at the mines, but Clyman and the Mecombs' soon made their way to Napa, where they were welcomed by John Trubody and hospitably cared for at his ranch. The Mecombs' finally settled on land now within the city of Napa, their ranch house being where the Napa Union High School now stands. Clyman lived with them, assisting in the work of laying out the place, and courting one of the younger daughters, Hannah, who became his wife.

The marriage was the first one celebrated at Napa. The minister was Sylvester Woodbridge of the Presbyterian church in Benicia, and the date, the 22d of August, 1849. The groom was 57, while the bride was thirty years younger, and she outlived him nearly 37 years. It is said that the couple bought all the table crockery to be had in Napa and San Francisco; also that they remained over the winter with the Mecombs' and helped to put in the next year's crops.

¹⁷⁴ If gold was worth fifteen dollars an ounce in 1848, 2 ounces per man, 6000 men, would amount to 180,000 dollars per day.



HANNAH MECOMBS CLYMAN

—*Courtesy of W. L. Tallman.*

LATTER DAYS

JAMES CLYMAN was well known in pioneer days in California but is now nearly forgotten. He was one of many old hunters and trappers who came on farther west after the flourishing days of the beaver trade were over. There was George Yount, a few miles up the valley, who had "settled down" twelve years before the gold discovery — the first white man in the region. There was "Peg-Leg" Smith stumping the streets of San Francisco and Sacramento, facetiously campaigning for Fillmore, and finding the city ways more devious than the trails of the Wasatch or the meanderings of the Gila. There was Allen "of Mohave notoriety," Kit Carson at Taos, Jim Beckwourth at his pass in the Sierra, Charlie Hopper at Napa, the guide of the emigrants of 1841; at Sonoma and Walnut Creek, the Walkers, Joel and Joseph R.; Moses Carson at Healdsburg; Uncle "Billy" Gordon on Cache Creek, and John Wolfskill on the Putah. Down on the Kern, Elisha Stephens in a log hut floated out on one of the spring floods with all his pigs and chickens, and Alexis Godey had been "imported to kill off the Indians." At the Pueblo of Los Angeles were the remains of Pattie's company, Pryor and Laughlin; at Santa Barbara, Job Dye and Walker's man, George Nidever, still pursuing the fast dwindling sea-otter; in Oregon, "Bob" Newell, "Squire" Ebberts, Ewing Young in his grave, the renowned Joe Meek, and Osborne Russell who had helped run the provisional government and died in the California gold mines, — all these and many more, some of whom might have called the land theirs, as "Peg-leg" did, "by right of first exploration and settlement."

On March 6, 1850, Clyman purchased from William Edgington a portion of the tract that became his farm at Napa. This land had previously belonged to Salvador Vallejo and formed a part of his "Pueblo de Salvador." Soon afterward the family moved into Sonoma County, settling in the district between Forestville and Sebastopol. Before long they were back again at Napa where, on February 10, 1855, James Clyman completed the purchase of his ranch — the property acquired at this time being a part of the tract belonging to his mother-in-law.

Sad years now followed with the death of four of the five little children by the ravages of scarlet fever. The first to be taken was the little seven-year-old daughter, Martha Ellen; then James Lambert, a boy of eleven; next, one of the seven-year-old twins, Philip Lancaster; and finally, on December 6, 1866, Mary Irene, a girl of fifteen.

Clyman himself was now 74 years old, carrying on the work of a fruit and dairy ranch, planting and pruning the trees, plowing and harvesting, while Mrs. Clyman and their one remaining daughter, Lydia

Alcinda, milked the cows and took care of the household affairs. To make up for the loss of their children they adopted three foster-daughters — Alice ("Allie") Broadhurst, who was Mrs. Clyman's niece, Geneva Gillin, and Edna Wallingford.

In the late sixties Lydia married Beverly Lamar Tallman. Their children and grandchildren are Clyman's only living descendants. One of these, Mr. Wilber Lamar Tallman, still lives upon the fine old Clyman ranch, one mile north of Napa City, near the Union Station.

A little diary still exists which was written by James Clyman in his eightieth year. It shows him still living an active life, working on his farm, and it contains a bit of the verse that he occasionally wrote:

*And now the mists arise
With slow and graceful motion
And shews like pillow in the skies
Or island in the ocean*

[Jan] 28, [1871] A Rainy moning Took my Sheep to pasture. . . .

February the 1 My birthday being the first day of 80 Eightyethe year. . . .

2 Frosty mornings commenced pruning in the Orchard . . .

17 Frost clear and warm afternoon Pruning in the orchard . . .

[March] 3 Pleasant and warm good growing weather Planted potatoes Peas & onions beets . . .

8 commenced Breaking fallows yestarday . . .

10 Finished pruning . . .

15 finished my fence around the garden

[April] 9 . . . Mr Montgomery [R. T. Montgomery, editor of the *Napa Reporter*] called on me for information on the early character of California gave him my Diary of my first trip across the plains . . .

11 Trimed and marked my lambs . . .

12 Finished planting corn & potatoes . . .

14 . . . Rode out on the mountain . . .

19 . . . Commenced sharing sheep

26 . . . Went to the Odd fellows Picknick Mr Sargent delivered the adress which was done in oratorical style . . .

[May] 3 . . . finished the cultivation of the home orchard . . .

19 . . . hawled a load of rock for the foundation of Barn . . .

29 . . . Comenced framing Barn . . .

31 . . . finished the frame of Barn . . .

[June] 3 . . . went to the picknick at the Boggs ranch heard Mr Ford the county School Sup^t make an excellent speech . . .

12 . . . filled all my barn with hay three tuns left . . .

15 . . . Brought my sheep down to the home place

16 Clear sold all our Black Tartaria[n cherries]

17 . . . gathered Black Beries . . .

24 . . . took a severe Cold Laid abed half the day . . .

25 . . . still feel seak of a cold . . .

26 . . . Hauled one load of wood . . .
 1st July . . . Warm some wheet being harvested Wind South
 . . . Finished halling wood due Mr Truebody \$3⁰⁰ . . .
 4 the 95 Jubille of our countrys Independance as nation Went
 to Napa heard the declaration of Independance read . . .
 11 . . . gathering early apples . . .
 12 . . . Lent Mrs McCombs \$20⁰⁰/
 [Aug.] 16 . . . the camp Meeting still in Session
 [Dec.] 10 . . . sowed our Barley last week . . .

He took little part in public affairs as age drew upon him, being content with his circle of friends whom he often entertained with tales of his adventures. He is remembered as a bent, weather-beaten figure, often taking his rifle to the mountains in search of deer or perhaps a grizzly — like himself the last of his race. He took his leisure sitting in the sun and slowly writing out upon a slate, the last part of his book of reminiscences, which he sent to Lyman C. Draper. The first part of this book, written in 1871, was printed in the *Napa Reporter*.¹⁷⁵ His poetry was written in the last ten years of his life and reflects the sweet serenity of his old age. He had lived close to Mother Earth, had tasted her joys and was refreshed; for Nature gives back her recompense to him who braves dangers and toil to know her well.

Time begins to leave her marks upon him. A recent accident has nearly deprived him of the sight of one eye. Wounds received in his Indian fights cause him still to walk with a limp. Hunting excursions to has favorite "coves" in the mountains come more seldom.

The farm,¹⁷⁶ brought by Clyman to a high state of productiveness, is now managed by the daughter, Mrs. Tallman, who finds daylight hours too short with seven little children and the old couple to care for. Visitors come frequently, among them little Tom Thumb and his wife, the midgets, relatives of the family.

On the night of December 27, 1881, another visitor enters and silently departs bearing the old frontiersman away, over new trails, to join his comrades of the mountains — Ashley, Jedediah Smith, Fitzpatrick, Black Harris, Hugh Glass, the Sublettes, Andrew Henry, and Jim Bridger, who has passed on only a few months before.

Pioneers gather beneath the cypresses of Tulocay, where James Clyman, worn by the infirmities of ninety years, is laid to rest.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ *Napa Weekly Reporter*, March 30, April 6, 13, 20, 27, and May 4 and 11, 1872. The *Reporter* also printed excerpts from Clyman's diaries in its issues of May 17, 25, June 1, 8, 15, 22, July 20, 27, and August 3 and 10, 1872.

¹⁷⁶ A drawing of Clyman's farm as it was about the time of his death appears in *Illustrations of Napa County, California*, Oakland: Smith and Elliott, 1878.

¹⁷⁷ *Napa Reporter* and *Napa Register*, December 30, 1881. Clyman was a member of the Society of California Pioneers, Napa, Sonoma, Lake and Mendocino Counties branch, which he joined in 1876. A town in Wisconsin was named for him in the early days. California has given him no memorials of any kind.

JAMES CLYMAN'S POETRY

OUR HOME

*THE winds were in their chamber sleeping
The light from Orient portals peeping
The stars the lesser ones are dimed or gone
The larger ones more brightly shown
And silver beams of earley daylight
Was breaking through the gloom of night
The little birds in twittering note
Upon the ambient air did float
Again more fervent light behold
The mountain tops in glittering gold
The grass the grain in meadow seen
A gorgeous sight all clothed in green
The dewdrips make a beautiful show
In bright translucent globes they glow
All nature now seems to combine
To over flow with bread and wine
And fruit of every name and nature
Promise rich returns in the future
The peach the cherry and the pear
In fragrant blooming now appear
And give sweet scent to passing air
The bees then come a perfect swarm
At noon or when the sun shines warm
And sip the nectar from the bloom
To fill their sweetened honey comb
And now we hear the breakfast call
To young to old to friend and all
Now at the table take your seat
A cup of coffee strong and sweet
but first you hear a fervent blessing
To all omniscient power addressing
The mighty source of light
To guide our words and actions right*

*Through out the day now fast advancing
The glorious sun on nature glancing
Now while hot roles surround your plate
Dont envy either wealth or state
The hour of eight the clock has told
A grumbling first then more Bold
Along the Iron plated way
That runs direct from Napa bay
And if you notice as they pass
A belching forth of steam and gass
They come with raped whirling wheels
The earth blow both quakes and reals
The elements above are riven
By smoke and gass are upward drivn
A heave a blch of scalding gass
Then let the metal monster pass
The hills along the east are seen
Some dark with brush some clothed in green
The sun still shining bold and bright
And not a cloud obscures the sight
The Lilac now in purple bloon
A handsome sight a rich perfume
The Canary in his iron cage
Still chants his love and sings his rage
No answering note no warbling fair
Can touch his melancholy ear,
O give me freedom or a mate
To save me from a lonsome fate.
The sun now strikes meriden line
The laboring men come in to dine
Assembled round the family board
A female blessing now is heard
And then the master carves and sends
The vians round from side to end*

Around the yard a playfull noise
 This is the prattle of the boys
 As up and down the walks they run
 With bursting froliich noisy fun
 Thier work is play thier play is work
 And all is noise from day to day
 And infancy is likewise here
 A female babe demans our care
 Who just begins to crow and smile
 And know her mothers voice the while
 She fills a space not very small
 But she is dear to nurse and all
 Our Cottage too is draped anew
 And shows in front a handsome vew
 As white as bride trips from her room
 Steps out to meet her galant groom
 The plow for summer crop now turning
 The moistned soil in early morning
 And soon comes on the planting time
 For summer crops of evry kind
 As to west the sun inclines
 In fervant brightness still it shines
 All nature seems to catch the strea[m]
 And kiss and drink the glancing beam
 And then a slightly southern breese
 Comes chanting through the orchard trees
 And bends and turns the growing grain
 Like tides upon the flowing main
 Still lower west the light doth glow
 And lengthning shawos eastward go
 Now all the sky in brightest gold
 Most beautiful the light unfold
 The eastern hills to catch the light
 reflected from etherial hight
 You see the moons bright cresent form
 And silver tips her either horn
 The stars now all are brightly shining
 And with the moon thier light combining
 The galaxy or milky way
 Across the zenith makes display

*With stars thick studded shining bright
A coronet on brow of night
Is this the hour when lovers meet
Salute each to each in accents sweet
And walk the flowery avaneues
and speak and tell the daily new[s]
Perhaps to taake a walk for life
United in one as man and wife
And call the spangled stars above
As witnesses of mutual love
This natal day now is past
We hope it will not be the last*

DECORATION DAY 1881

*Strew flowers oer the heroes head
Who for your country fought & Bled
He fought for eaqul rights for all
Let raining flowers or him fall
He died your countrys life to save
Strew flowers oer the heroes grave*

INDEX

- Acres, Hiram, 169
 Adams, T. M., 61
 Alderman, Isaac W., 69, 72
 Allen, Samuel, 58
 Allsopp, J. P. C., 239
 Altgeier, Nicholas, 205
 Applegate road, 56
 Arapaho Indians, 44
 Arikara fight, 15-21, 41
 Arikara village, 15, 40, 41
 Arnett, Goulding, 48
 Arther, Captain James P., 177
 Ashley, General William Henry, 11-22, 38, 39
 Astorians, 26, 38, 39, 125
 Bale, Dr. Edward Turner, 171
 Bancroft Library, 9
 Bannock Indians, 99, 101
 Barnette, J. M., 61, 72, 91-93
 Bartel, William, 169
 Battle of Tippecanoe, 12
 Beckwith, Daniel W., 46
 Beckwourth, James, 42-43
 Bedwell, William, 238
 Beers, Alanson, 137
 Bennett, Catherine, 179
 Bennett, Emerson, 57-58
 Big Kaw, interpreter, 73
 Bighorn Sheep, 31-32, 90
 Bigler, Henry W., 238-239
 Bissonette, fur trader, 60, 229
 Black, W. L., 72
 Black Hawk War, 11
 Black Hills of South Dakota, 24-26
 Blakely, 1844 emigrant, 72
 Boggs, Lilburn W., 228-230
 Bowen, John, 49, 237
 Boyd, 1844 emigrant, 72
 Bradley, Thomas Wesley, 238
 Branch, a trapper with Ashley, 31, 37
 Bridger, James, 38, 92, 223, 243
 Broadhurst, Alice, 242
 Brown, John Henry, 173
 Brown, Martin, 169
 Browne, Jesse B., 47
 Browning, buried on the plains, 76
 Buchanan, immigrant from Oregon, 169
 Buffalo, 28, 29-30, 32, 35, 95, 226-227
 Burnett, Ellsworth, murder of, 49-50
 Burnett, Peter H., 104
 Calapooya Indians, 156
 California, travels in and descriptions of, in 1845, 168-206
 Carpenter, Benjamin, 169
 Carpenter, Lemuel J., 153
 Charbonneau, Toussaint, 38, 41
 Chase, S. U., 169
 Cheyenne Indians, 27
 Childers, M. R., 169
 Chiles, Joseph B., 238, 239
 Chiles, W. G., 238
 Clark, William, 72
 Claymore, Antoine, 44
 Claymore, Basil, 44
 Clement, 44
 Clermo, Louis, 44
 Clyman, Colonel James; his writings, 9-10; personal characteristics, 10, 50, 51, 243; early life of, 11-12; adventures on the Missouri River, 13-22; over South Pass with Jedediah Smith, 22-34; long journey afoot down the Platte, 35-38; adventures in the Rockies, 1824-27, 43-46; fight with the Arapaho, 44; circumnavigates Great Salt Lake, 45; escape from the Blackfeet, 45-46; in the Black Hawk War, 46-47; in business in Illinois, 46-47; pioneering in Wisconsin, 48-51; appointed Colonel, 50; surveyor in Illinois, 51; joins overland emigrants in 1844, 51-53; his overland journal to Oregon and California, 59-167; writes description of Oregon for Elijah White, 142-144; acts as White's agent in California, 144, 177, 184; his "Address to Mount Hood," 152; Captain of emigrants from Oregon to California, 153-169; travels in California in 1845-46, 170-205; eastward across the Sierra, 206-212; across the plains to Missouri, 212-235; to California in '48, 237-240; latter days, 241-243; his poetry, 244-247; letter from placers, 240; marriage, 240; death, 243
 Clyman, Hannah, 238, 240, 241
 Cyman, James Lambert, 241
 Clyman, John, 46
 Clyman, Lancaster, 46, 115
 Clyman, Lydia Alcinda, 241
 Clyman, Martha Ellen, 241
 Clyman, Mary Irene, 241
 Clyman, Philip Lancaster, 241
 Cochran, Thomas, 169
 Colter, John, 40
 Condor, 182, 183
 Cook, Grove, 144-146
 Cordel, 1844 emigrant, 72
 Cornwall, Pierre B., 239
 Crisman, Joel, 61, 72
 Crisman, S., 61
 Crow Indians, 27-29, 42
 Cummings, Major Richard, 65, 67-68
 Davis, Joseph H., 169
 Dement, William C., 102
 Devenport, Alfred, 72
 Dewel, Samuel, 238
 Dodge, Major Henry, 47, 50-51
 Donner Party, 222-229
 Dougherty, John, 41
 Dougherty, N. R., 72
 Draper Collection, 9, 13, 243
 Duncan, immigrant from Oregon to California, 169
 Durand, St. Vrain, 169
 Early, Captain Jacob M., 47
 Ebberts, George W., 57
 Eddie, Thomas, 16, 22, 38, 44
 Edgington, William, 241
 Ehrman, Sidney M., 10

Ellig, John, 169
 Emigrants of 1844, 51-73
 Emigrants of 1846, 227-236
 Emigrants of 1848, 237-240
 Evans, 1844 emigrant, 72
 Everhart, L., 61, 151, 169
 Fallon, William O., 59
 Farnham, T. J., 55, 178
 Fitzpatrick, Thomas, 11, 22, 34, 37-39, 44, 89, 90
 Ford, Colonel Nathaniel, 52, 61, 64, 66, 67, 72
 Fort Atkinson, 37
 Fort Boise, 101, 125
 Fort Bridger, 94, 223-224
 Fort Hall, 96-97, 123
 Fort Kiowa, 22
 Fort Laramie, 83, 84
 Fort Sutter, 168, 173
 Frazer, Abner, 160, 169
 Frazer, William, 169
 Frémont, Captain John Charles, 193, 198-201, 212; his trail across the Salt Lake Desert, 217-220, 236
 Frémont Peak, 28
 Flint, Isaac A., 194
 Fort Platte, 83, 84
 Galusha, C. S., 46
 Gardner, John S., 18
 Gibson, Isaac N., 72, 105
 Gibson, Marion, 169
 Gibson, Reed, 15-18
 Gillespie, John, 72
 Gilliam, General Cornelius, 52, 70, 79, 80, 91, 104
 Gillin, Geneva, 241
 Gilmore, Madison, 104
 Glass, Hugh, 18, 22, 38, 43
 Godey, Alexis, 241
 Goff, David, 73
 Goff family, 73
 Gordon, William, 170, 172, 183, 203-204
 Graham, Isaac, 178-179
 Great Salt Lake, Clyman circumnavigates, 45, 220
 Greenwood, Britain, 197
 Greenwood, Caleb, 212, 233
 Greenwood boys, 233
 Grimsley, Thornton, 54
 Grizzly Bear, 25, 181, 182, 183, 188-191
 Hamilton, Colonel William S., 11
 Hardy, Thomas, 204
 Hargrave, William, 171
 Harper, James, 72
 Harris, Moses, 26, 53-59, 71, 92, 93, 150
 Hastings' Cut-off, 212, 217-220
 Hastings, Lansing W., 168, 193, 205, 212-224, 229, 236
 Hayes, James, 169
 Hedding, Elijah, 144-148, 177, 184
 Henry, Andrew, 19, 38, 40
 Hensley, Samuel, 239
 Hewett, Adam, 169
 Hibbler, George, 169
 Hillhouse, J., 61
 Hinman, Alanson, 78

Hitchcock, 1844 immigrant to California, 85
 Holmes, Captain Reuben, 39-43
 Hopper, Charles, 241
 Houck, James, 169
 Howard, 1844 emigrant, 72
 Hudson, Martin, 238
 Hudson's Bay Company, 96-97, 112, 123, 127, 128, 130, 131
 Hudspeth, James M., 212
 Hull, Captain Joseph B., 177
 Humphrey, Norris, 72
 Hunt, James, 72
 Hunt, Wilson P., 45, 125
 Hunter, John, 38
 Huntington Library, 9
 Immel-Jones Massacre, 38
 Independence Rock, 37, 89
 Jackson, John H. P., 72
 Jackson, John R., 72
 Johnson, Daniel, 72
 Johnson, James, 72
 Johnson, William, 205
 Kimball, Hazen, 239
 Kaw Indians, 62-67, 73
 Keemle, Colonel Charles, 38, 42
 Kelsey, Benjamin, 171, 181
 Kelsey, Mrs. Benjamin, 171
 Ketchum, dies on Oregon trail, 74
 Keyes, Mrs. Sarah, her grave, 233
 Keyser, Sebastian, 205
 Kilbourn, Byron, 48
 Klickatat Indians, 149, 150, 156
 Knight, William, 166, 204
 La Barge, trapper killed on Green River, 44, 225
 Larkin, Thomas O., letter to Elijah White regarding the Hedding Murder, 147-148; 177, 184
 Larrisson, Jack, 19
 Leavenworth, Colonel Henry, 19-22
 Lee, Barton B., 72
 Lee, Rev. Jason, 137
 Lenoir, immigrant from Oregon, 169
 Lewis, Reuben, 41
 Libbey, Captain Elliott, 184
 Lichtenstein, Franz, 169
 Lincoln, Abraham, 11, 47
 Lisa, Manuel, 39-41
 Livermore, Robert, 174
 McCarver, General M. M., 107
 McCombs, *see* Mecombs
 McGillicuddy, Dr. V. T., 26
 McKay, Joseph William, 148
 McKinley, J., 61
 McKissick, blind emigrant, 229, 232
 McLaughlin, John, 112, 139, 150
 McMahon, Captain Green, 73, 159, 160
 Manning brothers, 117
 Marshall, James Wilson, 169
 Martinez, Ignacio, 179
 Mary's Lake, 211
 Mecombs family, 237-238
 Mecombs, Hannah (Mrs. James Clyman), 238, 240, 241
 Meek, Stephen H. L., 55

- Milwaukee, early days in, 48-51
 Minto, John, 104
 Missouri Fur Company, 20
 Monterey, 177-178
 Montgomery, Richard Tremaine, 9, 13, 242
 Morin, Judge, 229-230
 Morin, L., 61, 69, 73
 Mormon Battalion, brings east news of gold discovery, 238-239
 Mormon pioneers, 57, 230
 Morrison, Captain of emigrants, 92
 Moss, Sydney W., 57
 Mulkey, J. L., 72
 Neal family, 61
 Nesmith, Judge James W., 138
 Nevada, in 1846, 210-218
 Newell, Robert, 138
 Nez Percés Indians, 99, 101, 103
 Northgrave, William, 169
 Ogdens Lake, 212
 Oil springs, 29
 Olcott, Egbert (*alias* Texas Smith), 64
 Oregon, description, 127-133, 143-144
 Oregon Trail, 51-133
 Overland emigrants of 1844, 51-133
 Owens family, 160, 169
 Owless, Ruel, 72
 Packwood, Samuel, 71
 Packwood, William, 71
 Page, Captain Hugh N., 184
 Pawnee Indians, 76, 229-231
 Payne, Mrs., and family, 169
 Payne, R. K., 169
 Perin, M. R., 72
 Perkey, J. D., 71, 169
 Perkins family, 72
 Perkins, Rev. H. K. W., 108
 Peuquemoxox, Wallawalla chief, 144
 Pilcher, Major Joshua, 20
 Pomeroy, Walter, 116
 Potts, John, 40
 Priest, 1844 emigrant, 72
 Provot, Etienne, 38
 Reading, Major Pierson B., 163
 Reed, James Frazier, 229
 Reid, Jacob, 140
 Riley, Captain Bennett, 21, 37
 Robb, John S., 38
 Robidoux, Antoine, 94
 Robinson, Benjamin M., 61, 69, 73
 Rolin (= L. L. Rowland?), 1844 emigrant, 72
 Rose, Edward, 15, 25, 27, 38-43
 Ross, Hiram J., 48, 113, 239
 Rowland, Levi B., 75
 Russell, Osborne, 239
 San Francisco in 1845, 184-185
 San José Mission, 174
 San Juan Bautista Mission, 175
 Schooner *Star of the West*, wreck of, 178
 Scott, Captain Levi, 56, 92
 Sears, Franklin, 160, 163, 165, 169
 Semple, Robert, 193
 Sewellel, 111
 Shaw, captain of emigrants, 92
 Shawnee Indians, 49-50, 60
 Shoshone Indians, 33-34, 94-95
 Sierra Nevada, eastward across, in 1846, 206-212
 Sioux Indians, 19-22, 23-24, 42, 83
 Sipp, immigrant from Oregon, 169
 Siskadee River, 11, 42, 93, 226
 Smith, Anderson, 104
 Smith, Andrew, 137
 Smith, Jedediah, 11, 18, 19, 22-34, 37-39, 41, 42, 90
 Smith, Noyes, 72
 Smith, "Peg-leg," 241
 Smith, William, 72
 Snooks, P., 61, 62
 South Pass, 11, 33, 38-39
 Spalding, Rev. H. H., 105
 Starr, Elisha, 63
 Stephens, Aaron, 15
 Stephens, Elisha, 53, 72, 240
 Stockton, Commodore Robert Field, 57
 Stone, trapper with Ashley, 37, 38
 Sublette, William L., 22, 29-30, 32, 38, 53, 54, 70, 74, 76, 77, 89
 Sumner, Owen, Jr., 166
 Sumner, Owen, Sr., 169, 205
 Suñol, Antonio Maria, 174
 Sutter, General John Augustus, letter regarding Hedding affair, 145-146; letter and list of Oregon immigrants, 168-169
 Sweet Lake, 96
 Tallman, Rev. Beverly Lamar, 242
 Tallman, Lydia Alcinda, 13, 33, 242
 Tallman, Wilber Lamar, 9
Tasso affair, 184
 Thorp, John, 52
 Thorp, Lindsey, 169
The Prairie Flower, 57-58
 Thumb, Tom, the midget, 243
 Townsend, Dr. John, 177
 Townsend-Murphy party, 53
 Treat and Blackman, 12
 Trubody, Josiah, 243
 Umpqua Indians, 156
 Utah, in 1846, 219-222
 Vallejo, General Mariano Guadalupe, 198
 Vallejo, Captain Salvador, 202
 Wair, J. M., 112, 115, 230
 Waldo, Daniel, 141-142
 Walker, James T., 239
 Walker, Joel, 104, 137, 153
 Walker, Joseph R., 153
 Walker, Mary Young, 153
 Walker, Robert, 61
 Walker, Samuel, 61
 Wallawalla Indians, 103, 105, 144-148, 177, 184
 Waller, Alvan F., 108
 Wallingford, Edna, 242
 War of 1812, 12
 Warnbaugh, M. M., 71
 Warner, John J., 153
 Washington, President George, 11

Washoe Indians, 209-211

Waters, James, 102, 104

Weber, Charles M., 179

Weer, William, 72

Welch, James, 72

White, Elijah, 55, 133, 137, 142, 150, 177

Whitman, Marcus, 54, 78, 105

Williams, Ezekiel, 40

Williams, Poe, 72

Williamson, Henry, 72

Winnebago Indians, 47

Wisconsin Historical Society, 9

Wolfskill, John, 166-167, 170, 202, 203

Wolfskill, William, 153

Wood, Henry, 141

Woodbridge, Sylvester, 240

Wyeth, Nathaniel, 54

Yount, George C., 171, 180, 201

CORRECTIONS

p. 22, 4th line from bottom of page, change [*White River?*] to [*Medicine Creek*].

p. 33, 22d line, add [*March*] after *February*.

p. 43, 6th line, change *ford* to *fort*.

p. 45, 3d paragraph, 1st line, change *at Napa* to *in the Huntington Library*.

p. 98, footnote, change *p. 333* to *p. 85*.

p. 112, 15th line, change *J. W. Wair* to *J. M. Wair*.

p. 144, omit last two lines of first paragraph of footnote 117 and add *Cf. also p. 177*.

p. 221, footnote 159, substitute *p. 45* for *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly, vol. 4, p. 140*.

p. 230, 4th paragraph, 2d line, omit [*Weir*].





